

Educ.
23:3

The AMERICAN TEACHER

DECEMBER

1938

EXTRA! EXTRA!

DIES INVESTIGATES FOUNDING FATHERS

AN EQUAL CHANCE FOR ALL	Elbert D. Thomas
THE SOUTH'S ANSWER	Stanton E. Smith
PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS	Clyde R. Miller
NEW PROTECTION FOR THE CHILD LABORER .	Gertrude Binder
A COLLEGE IS FIRED	Leo Huberman
A STATEMENT ON THE PROPOSED CLOSING OF NEW COLLEGE	Arnold Shukotoff

REVIEWS BY

Frank E. Baker

Joel Seidman

Eugene Holmes

Boris Gamzue

Granville Hicks

John R. Reid

ON THE LABOR FRONT

THE TEACHERS UNION IN ACTION

Published by the AMERICAN FEDERATION of TEACHERS

Inside the Cover

One of Mr. Winchell's "orchids" to the Kenosha, Wis., Local (No. 557) for the fine job they did in editing an education page for *Kenosha Labor* during American Education week. Articles on "Education and Democracy," "Too Much of a Good Thing" (vocational education), "The Story of American Education Week," etc., filled the complete back page. Every educational-policies committee chairman ought to send to Paul Porter, Kenosha, Wis., for a copy of the November 11 issue of *Kenosha Labor* and enclose ten cents. A really fine job!

* * *

Senator Thomas whose article appears on page 5 of this issue of *THE AMERICAN TEACHER* was invited to speak to the Salt Lake City chamber of commerce after the recent election. In introducing Senator Thomas, President Marion C. Nelson complimented him on the clean campaign which had been conducted on his behalf. In response, the Senator said, "I wish the president of the chamber of commerce could have seen his way clear to repudiate the lies circulated about me before the election was over."

He went on to point out that "it is necessary for the chamber of commerce, and others, to reorientate their point of view. . . . I remember when the chamber of commerce tried to abolish the University of Utah school of business administration . . . how Workmen's Compensation laws were first fought here . . . how we were called bolsheviks when we fought for federal and state laws in years gone by . . . laws that the present generation has thanked us for . . . and now we are called communists for pushing legislation that will help the people of the country more."

* * *

The American Youth Commission, which, incidentally, publishes a fine bulletin which will be sent to you free, has just published a 48-page pamphlet entitled *How To Make a Community Youth Survey*. The pamphlet explains the methods of collecting information and of digesting and interpreting the results. It may be secured by sending 25 cents to the commission at 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

* * *

Another fine pamphlet (apparently free) which will be of interest to union teachers is *Racial Inequalities in Education* published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Ave., New York City. In his letter which accompanied the pamphlet, Walter White explained that "foundations have indicated that they will not contribute to a frontal attack such as the N. A. A. C. P. has made

upon educational inequalities. The burden, therefore, must be borne in the main by the Negroes themselves, as is told in the attached pamphlet."

* * *

And finally if you are interested in finding out about the National Labor Relations Board, Bernard W. Stern of Columbia University has prepared a list of references on it which may be secured by dropping a post card to the N. L. R. B. in Washington, D. C. The bibliography was compiled primarily as a guide for those who are interested in the history and activities of the National Labor Relations Board and the emphasis is placed upon references of a comprehensive character which cover the broad phases of the board's activities.

* * *

We live in a world of propaganda and counter-propaganda, and no one is more aware of it than an editor. Six times a week, the mailman brings the strangest assortment of left, right, and center publicity releases to my office. In a newspaper office, most of these will never see the first edition. Those, none too expertly mimeographed, that violate the newspaper owner's concept of "freedom of the press" will be tossed into the nearest waste-basket. So it really doesn't make much difference what newspaper you buy to kill that morning "L," bus, or subway ride, you get a propaganda sheet which has been pretty well sifted. Our press does not by any reasonable definition present "both sides" fairly.

From the pile of material that accumulates weekly, I learn that the Office of Education is sponsoring a new national radio program, "Wings for the Martins," a story of the problems which millions of Americans face in their daily living; that Ordway Tead, chairman of the board of higher education of New York City, will address the American Student Union at its national convention in New York City, December 26-30, and that the theme of the convention is "Keep Democracy Working by Keeping it Moving Forward"; that Aubrey Williams in analyzing the rise and fall of relief rolls claims that the largest relief projects have been started in non-election years, that A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and chairman of the labor committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy, has issued a call to 20,000 labor unions to send delegates to the league's conference in Washington, D. C., January 6-8; from a P. W. A. release (wasting the taxpayer's money) that 250,000 children started school this fall in new classrooms in approximately 1,000 schools made possible by "government spending"; from a National Council for the Prevention of War release that the Farmers Union met in Salina and urged "the State Textbook Com-



mission to refrain from frequent change"; and from a pro-Loyalist bulletin, *News of Spain*, comes the score of the recent Physiological Congress in Zurich—Loyalist scientists attending, 12, Insurgent scientists, 0.

* * *

On the other side of the ledger I find Frank Gannett's *America's Future* (32-pages), sent free of charge, with a full-page press release giving me an "advance" of Josiah Bailey's *Borrowed Money—Staggering Tax Load Enslaving Nation's Voters* (now I've given Frank his plug), a four-page release, *Medical News*, published by the medical society of the State of New York which contains an address by Dr. William A. Groat in which he complains about "the growth of unprincipled propaganda"; a cleanly mimeographed statement about the work which Dr. Lloyd Burgess Sharp, executive director of "Life Camps," is doing for the underprivileged girls of New York City which helps get non-union *Life* magazine before the public's eye; a short squib from a confidential taxation sheet that "no definite declaration that adjustment (replace with "reduction") of wages is illegal, has been made by the Wages and Hours Division"; and three copies of Dean William F. Russell's speech to the New York Legion, "How To Tell a Communist and How to Beat Him."

* * *

Teachers and the general public would have little to worry about if they had the chance to wade through a stack of publicity releases and determine from many different sources what to think and believe. Unfortunately, millions of Americans never see a press release from a civil-liberties organization on the latest police brutality case, or the answer to a distorted *Chicago Tribune* story on W. P. A. They must merely guess, become disinterested, or set aside the time it takes to dig up for themselves, by every manner of means possible, the kind of information which will keep democracy working.

And though 90 per cent of the American newspapers will screech "dictatorship" in 72-point BF streamers, I'm waiting for the day when the American Newspaper Guild calls a strike and demands the right of reporters to have some voice in determining the policy of the newspaper.

(Continued on page 31)

The AMERICAN TEACHER

Published by The American Federation of Teachers

VOLUME XXIII

DECEMBER, 1938

NUMBER 3

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Drawings by Chandler Montgomery

THE AMERICAN TEACHER

GEORGE T. GUERNSEY, Editor

ENTERED as second class matter October 18, 1933, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of February 28, 1925, authorized November 3, 1926.

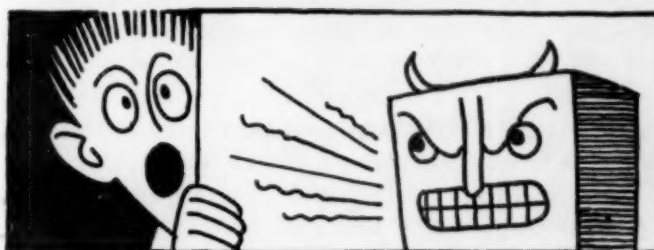
SUBSCRIPTION: \$1.00 for the year—Foreign \$1.10—Single copies, 25c. Published monthly except June, July and August, at 506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill. Subscribers are requested to give prompt notice of changes of address. Remittances should be made in postal or express money orders, draft, stamps, or check.



MOST OF THE EDITORIAL COMMENT on the furore created by the now famous Orson Welles Martian broadcast was severely critical of the radio officials who permitted this bit of aerial realism to reach the microphone. Few writers were moved to reflect upon the level of public intelligence which could take such a broadcast seriously. No one, so far as we know, has noted that the juvenile fans who have endured the stresses and strains of the Flash Gordon and Buck Rogers episodes were completely unperturbed by the invasion of the men from Mars.

To school people this amazing incident possesses a special significance. If the gullible multitude can be roused to hysteria by a relatively innocuous radio fantasy, what defense can there be if next year the radio, television, the

newspaper, the photoplay, the magazine, the loudspeaker truck, the billboard, the tract and pamphlet combine in a systematically planned barrage of propaganda against racial minorities or workers' organizations? Keeping the traffic lanes open for all facts and opinions, and providing instruction in the analysis of propaganda are the only effective defense measures at our disposal, and they should be made the primary objectives of every school program.



A CIVILIZATION BASED ON HATE cannot long endure. The persecution of Jews in Germany has shocked the moral sensibilities of all civilized people, and decent people all over the world are repulsed by this relapse into barbarism by the Germans. It is easy to condemn Hitler, but if no positive program for preventing the same development in our own country is formulated, it is futile to condemn, incriminate, and analyze the situation.

We in the United States must be very realistic. There are anti-semitics, red-baiters, and people who refuse to accept the negro as an equal. Other people feel that the Catholic Church is a menace. America, too, has its fascist and semi-fascist organizations. Two of the most notorious samples are the Silver Shirts and the German Bund. Potential dictators are just around the corner, willing to capitalize on prejudice in order to win power.

If we seriously want to prevent the same mad doctrine from invading the United States, we must do so through education. In doing so, we must be convinced of a basic truth—mainly, that to give way to hate of any individual or any group introduces the virus that will ultimately fill our blood stream with hatred for others. We must oppose very emphatically any form of anti-semitism. We must rest our very existence on the philosophy of goodwill. We must educate the minds of our pupils that no race has a monopoly on its contributions to civilization. In order to develop unregimented minds, we as teachers must be unafraid of philosophic, educational, and political innovations.

If our civilization based on rapid technical advancements

is to endure, we must maintain our progress in the social sciences. Primitive man killed his enemies with a club. Modern savages use poison gas.

Whenever one becomes prophetic, one does so at considerable risk; but it seems that there is no more incontrovertible historical truth than the statement, "they who live by the sword shall perish by the sword." To paraphrase, "they who seek prosperity by piling up non-productive goods, shall be destroyed by their inconsistencies." The child who grows up and enters the laboratory or the school-room may be building a better civilization; but the youth who dies on some bloody battle-field gives his life before its full fruition.

In all education for civic sensitivity, we must be constantly conscious of just three things: (1) nothing constructive is built on hate; (2) if we want to maintain a political democracy, we must bolster economic democracy; and (3) economy based on destructiveness cannot endure.

★ ★ ★

OVER 100,000,000 VOLUMES are housed in the 6,000 public libraries throughout the United States. These libraries serve political units containing a total population of 77,500,000 people. The remaining group of more than 50,000,000 Americans are without library facilities.

Such are the startling facts concerning distribution of educational opportunities made public by President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education in its report on library service. In terms of averages, the average person in an area served by libraries has available for his use 1.3 books. Taking the nation as a whole, this average dips to 0.8. No wonder that large sections of our people must be classified as economic, social, political, and cultural illiterates; they could not, even if they wished to, gain access to the books they need.

The facts plead more eloquently than can the most scholarly or impassioned advocate of federal aid for education. Precisely as we know that equality of school opportunities depends upon support from the national government, so also does equality of non-school opportunities. Educators cannot rest content with their work until they make sure that American citizens are able to continue their education after graduation from the public schools. Libraries are an essential. All of which is one more weighty argument for an immediate drive for federal equalization of educational facilities.



DARKEST SPOT ON THE EDUCATIONAL MAP as we go to press is Ohio, where closed schools and payless pay-days are grim threats. Already schools are closed in Dayton. Only because teachers in Parma have waived claims to their salaries have the schools in that town remained open. Reports from many other communities warn of exhausted finances.

Two factors join hands in causing trouble. Inadequate methods of financing the State Foundation Program are leading to insolvency of this source of state aid for local school districts. The second cause is the existence of mill levy limitations, shortsightedly imposed by selfish real-estate groups. These can be raised only by special elections.



Despite closed schools, the Dayton citizenry was persuaded to reject such a special levy this year. In Springfield, Ohio, where the schools were forced to close two years, the people of the town approved a special tax levy. In this town Local 296 of the A. F. of T. has approximately 90 per cent of the teachers as members.

An attempt to place school-tax limitation on an educationally sound basis was inaugurated by the Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers in a measure which would have based taxes on the pupil-teacher ratio. Legislatures added an amendment applying an absolute mill limitation to the bill, thus destroying its effect. As a result, the Philadelphia school board has adopted an eleven-month budget. Unless something is done to change the situation, next December will find Philadelphia children forced to idle on frigid streets.

★ ★ ★

IN A RECENTLY PUBLISHED REPORT of the Office of Education it is revealed that less than 15 per cent of the courses of study examined by its survey staff give even slight evidence of the influence of the correlation or integration movement. It is true that at least two large states—California and Virginia—and at least two large cities—Denver and Houston—have adopted curricula based upon pupil experiences, but the Office of Education report makes it clear that in the vast hinterland and in many of the metropolitan areas the public-school curriculum is badly in need of modernization.

The inertia of social institutions in a period of rapid change constitutes one of the major perils of civilization.

An Equal Chance for All

Senator Elbert D. Thomas, *Chairman, Senate Committee on Education and Labor*

FEDERAL AID FOR EDUCATION is not new. For almost a hundred years now some sort of assistance has been given to the states for education in various forms. Nearly all of this aid has been given on the basis of matching money, that is, if the federal government contributed a dollar, the state was under obligation to contribute a dollar also. The federal aid for education bill which will be before the next congress is aid based upon the theory of need; therefore there will be no matching. The states, though, will have certain definite obligations. They must use the money only in conformity with the law and they must use it, therefore, in conformity with an accepted standard of education which will be consistent with the general fundamental trends throughout the whole nation.

The state, too, will have complete control of the expenditure of the money and its apportionment into the various channels within the accepted limits. Thus, for example, if a state is deficient in its ability to carry out a simple program of adult education, it may inaugurate such a program and use the funds for this purpose. If it is backward in kindergarten work, it may use the funds for this purpose.

The theory of granting aid as a result of actual need is a result of the experiences which many of our states have had in the last nine years. For example, let us take a rural county which has been dependent primarily on a railroad which runs through the county from end to end for supplying the tax school needs of that county, and the railroad finds itself insolvent and unable to pay taxes. Boys and girls are thus deprived

of a chance to go to school. A proper theory of American citizenship is that citizens should have equal opportunity for obtaining what is the outstanding fundamental for American citizenship—the ability to read and write, and pass judgment at election time. If a trained citizenry is essential to the preservation of democracy in America, surely that training should extend to every citizen, and the federal government is justified in providing facilities where the local institutions are unable to do so in order that these essentials to American citizenship be provided. Thus the bill to provide federal aid to education is thoroughly consistent with the finest traditions of our American public schools and public-school ideals.

Precaution is taken in the bill to maintain local control of the schools. That theory of our American federal system which vests those elements of administration which are purely local in the jurisdiction of the local unit of the state and those elements which are national in interest in the national government is to be preserved.

The public schools' contribution to the development and preservation of democracy in America cannot be measured. It is, in fact, beyond measure. But this is certain, it undoubtedly has been the greatest single factor in the evolution and perpetuation of American democracy. Therefore, an act such as the act to provide federal aid to education will add greatly to that universal desire of all true Americans—that democracy shall be preserved in America and the theory of democracy shall be preserved for the whole world.

Particularly the schools, which must obviously be both the first and the last line of social defense, cannot afford to evade the issues which ineluctably press upon our society. A curriculum consisting of water-tight compartments, each containing a traditional body of information, is not a curriculum for the children of workers in an age of ascendant fascism. Comma hounds and date sleuths will not aid materially in the struggle for the preservation of democracy. The materials of the new curriculum must be taken from the situations of everyday life, without respect to vested subject interests, and with full recognition of present child needs and the demands of a democratic society.

In many schools the youth are learning to think about the broader problems of the community and the nation,

to express themselves effectively, to be critical of the radio, the photoplay, and the newspaper, to assume leadership in group undertakings. Such schools are laboratories of democratic living. Organized teachers cannot be indifferent to these pioneering efforts in curriculum reorganization without in the long run jeopardizing both their own safety and the safety of society.

The union movement has an important contribution to make to current curriculum theory. Pink-tea liberals in educational groups who talk glibly about patterns of behavior and social orientation and ego-organization have something to learn from the man on the assembly line and the relief client. No curriculum committee is complete without at least one unadjusted "crackpot" who has been face to face with both labor and hunger.

The President's Page

WHO IS THE GOOD TEACHER?

EVERY FORTY MINUTES in the United States a murder, every twenty-four seconds a major crime; the result—the American people are crime-conscious. Actually we are spending ten times as much on crime as on education; yet if we spent more on the latter, we would not have to spend so much on the former.

What is the most important factor in educational progress? Perhaps it is the good teacher. But what do these words mean? I propose to list seven out of an indefinite number of possible qualities, not in the order of their importance.

1. *Mental ability and scholarship.* It is obvious that without mental ability of a high order no teacher can function adequately. The mind must be strong, analytical, capable of grappling with a problem until it is solved. It should have creative imagination and be interpretive.

2. *Health.* Illness causes a loss of 2,000,000 teaching days a year. Radiant, abundant, overflowing health is an asset which is invaluable but not indispensable. Some of the best teachers have physical limitations.

3. *Personality.* This indefinable characteristic should be pleasing and forceful. Of incalculable value is a well-developed sense of humor and an ability to use it skillfully.

4. *Attitude toward his work.* Teaching involves a lot of routine: keeping a register, making a seating chart, preparing a "lesson plan," grading papers, disciplining a pupil, interviewing a parent. All of this can be mere drudgery, something to get out of the way as quickly as possible, or it can be a creative adventure which challenges all that one has. The real teacher will always have a reverence for truth, but will sense the opportunities for truth-sharing in every situation. Cooperation with the administration is desirable but genuine cooperation is increased a thousand-fold by strong group action and the democratizing of the whole educational machinery.

5. *The student responses which result.* Ability to secure sound habits and a disciplined classroom atmosphere, we assume. But has the teacher a genuine contribution to share with the children; does he or she know how to give it while developing pupil self-reliance? The teacher must be genuinely interested in the students as persons, maintaining a friendly classroom atmosphere. The pupils must be continually inspired to develop creativeness, originality, and initiative. The teacher who vitalizes, who stimulates ambition, who quickens the fires within is needed.

6. *Character.* Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt says, regarding the teacher, that America needs not so much emphasis on meticulous scholarship, degrees and the writing of books,

as on "character, personality, and the special gift of imparting enthusiasm for acquiring knowledge." Mental and moral courage, willingness to defend freedom at all costs, and whole-souled sincerity, these are indispensable. In addition, the teacher should have sympathy, good will, loyalty to ideals, and social altruism.

7. *Civic and social action.* This usually penalizes rather than helps the teacher in the eyes of certain administrators. The ideal teacher would recognize the task of not alone inculcating the tried and true wisdom of the past, but of preparing the child to take part in a dynamic civilization which sloughs off that which is defective, and which is ever building, recreating the new. In other words, *the teacher must be a prophet of the future as well as a priest of the past.*

The Lusk Committee report in New York State (1920) said, "No person who is not eager to combat the theories of social change should be entrusted with the task of fitting the young and old for the responsibilities of citizenship." But actually the teacher should have the pioneering spirit and should never be content with the *status quo*. The schools should be experiment stations where the child learns innovation as well as conservation. The pressing controversial problems of our age such as poverty and wealth, public utilities, unemployment, and social security must be met in the classroom, not avoided.

The good teacher always remembers that no matter how effective his or her work, it can be destroyed by the pressure of community forces. All life is an educational process. Children, after all, are in school only a relatively few hours of the day. Afterwards, they go back to their homes, out to the playground, and into the community.

Now, no teacher with the characteristics and qualities which I have sketched can possibly fail to be impressed with the absolute necessity for an organization affiliated with organized labor, such as the American Federation of Teachers. For how are we to be prophets of the future if we are controlled by superintendents and school boards, dominated by the *status quo*? In a democracy, it is group pressure that brings results. The teachers alone are powerless. It is only as they are organized and affiliated with larger, forward-looking groups that they can hope to build the society of the future, or enable the child to come to grips with the problems which he must face in the world.

Teachers should be "front-line," advance guards, willing to adventure for the right when it is unpopular. They should never be "sunshine patriots." In a word, *the teacher should be a good neighbor in the community, state, and nation.*

JEROME DAVIS

The South's Answer

♦ STANTON E. SMITH

THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE held at Birmingham, Alabama, November 20-23 was designed as the South's answer to the problems raised by the report of the National Emergency Council to the President on *Economic Conditions of the South*. This report has attracted widespread attention both in and out of the South, particularly as it served as the basis for President Roosevelt's designation of the South as "the nation's economic problem number one."

More than 1,200 delegates from the thirteen southern states, as well as large numbers of visitors, attended the various sessions of the four-day conference, giving it the color of a representative section of the progressive thought of the South. Persons of national prominence addressed the conference including Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Justice Hugo Black, Dr. Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, and Aubrey Williams.

Whether or not the Southern Conference for Human Welfare has given adequate answers to the problems of the South remains to be seen. At least the conference thought well enough of its efforts to form itself into a permanent organization with the following objectives:

To unite the southern people and their organizations to

1. Promote the general welfare;
2. Improve the economic, social, and cultural standards of the southern people;
3. Advance southern functional growth in accordance with democratic institutions and ideals;
4. Initiate and support progressive legislation in Congress and the states in harmony with the principles and program of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare;
5. Secure the cooperation and coordinate the activities of other organizations now existing in the southern states.

In addition, the conference established a governing body known as the Southern Council and an executive board, the former to be "representative of the entire region, of all fields of endeavor, and of all social and racial groups," and the latter to consist of the officers, including a vice president from each of the thirteen southern states.

The conference opened with an address by Dr. Frank Graham in which he described the broad pattern of southern life and the problems attendant thereto. The conference closed with an address by Justice Hugo Black in which he accepted the first Thomas Jefferson Medal, which is to be an annual award to the southerner who has contributed most to human welfare. Between these two events there was evolved a broad program touching on the many facets of southern economic, social, and cultural life, including condemnation of freight-rate differentials, absentee ownership, and the poll tax; in support of prison and housing

reform and legislation on wages, hours, and social security; and dealing with the problems of agriculture, etc.

It is not possible within the limits of this report to touch on all the actions and resolutions adopted, but I should like to mention one which is of particular interest to union teachers.

In the field of education the conference unanimously endorsed the Harrison-Thomas-Fletcher Federal Aid Bill. Specifically the conference approved the principle of aid on a basis of need and ability, took a stand against racial or other discrimination in the use of these or other school funds, and called attention to the twin facts that the South has the highest ratio of children to adults and that it has the lowest per-pupil expenditure although it spends a larger percentage of its income for education than any other section or group of states. It was pointed out that this condition is of national concern for three reasons. First, a high proportion of children raised in the South spend their adult lives elsewhere. The implications of this fact are far-reaching. Second, we cannot attain our American goal of equal opportunity for all until all children, regardless of the accidental geography of birth, shall have equal educational opportunity. Third, the educational problems of the



South are part of the broader economic problems. If the economic problems of the South are the nation's concern, as President Roosevelt maintains (and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare agrees), then it follows that the South's educational problems are of national concern also.

Significantly enough the conference has, since adjournment, drawn fire from several sources, including a group claiming to represent the Democratic Women's Clubs of Alabama, the Birmingham City Commission, and several newspapers. These organizations called upon the Dies Committee (which had received the condemnation of the conference) to investigate the people "back of" the conference and its sources of financial support, charging that it was inspired by a combination of communists and left-wing administration leaders who had led a large number of prominent persons to participate through deceit, etc.

The newspapers attacked, particularly, one action of the conference on the race issue, one paper going so far as to say that the conference advocated race war. Of course such

a charge is absurd, and the exact opposite of the truth. The 1,200 southerners assembled in Birmingham tried to examine the difficult race problem in the same objective manner in which the other problems were approached. They tried to evolve a program based on justice and fair dealing. Unfortunately these certain papers did not attempt an appraisal of the whole program but rather isolated one action of the conference and read meaning into it which was not there.

However, these attacks open up an interesting avenue of speculation. Is it possible that reactionary political forces together with the representatives of entrenched greed are attacking the Southern Conference for Human Welfare

at two points which appeal to common prejudices precisely because it has pointed the way to solutions of the South's problems? Is it possible that this is because it may disturb the ancient alliance between reactionary southern politicians and entrenched greed whose long tentacles reach into the South from other sections and find ready spokesmen? In any event these critics were adequately answered by Judge Louise O. Charleton of Birmingham, who was chairman of the first conference and is now honorary chairman, when she said that the Dies Committee is welcome to investigate every aspect of the conference.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare struck fire. Whether the fire will burn or not remains to be seen.

Propaganda Analysis in Everyday Life

◆ CLYDE R. MILLER

PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS is the scientific method at work. In analyzing our own opinions and propagandas and those of others, we need that cool-headed temper of science which has demonstrated its utility for human progress through the centuries. We need to remember that this temper of science, however, is relatively new. From the time of Copernicus on through to Darwin, natural scientists have been abused as heretics and atheists. They have had showered upon them the vilest epithets and abuse. The long battle for freedom of opinion in natural science has won only because democracy functioned, and it functioned because men were courageous and humane as well as intelligent. We need that same courage, that same humanity, that same intelligence in a world which today is witnessing hysterias and phobias caused by propaganda of hatred—propaganda based on a false science to make us hate and fear Catholics, Protestants, Jews, foreigners, various racial and religious groups. Freedom of propaganda in democracy means freedom for these vicious propagandas to circulate, yes, but it obliges our citizens, and particularly our public-school administrators and teachers and our editors and publishers to analyze these propagandas. Analysis reveals the ends as well as the methods of propagandists.

In a trenchant and searching editorial published last year, the *Springfield Republican* went to the heart of this whole matter.

Freedom of speech and of the press, to the extent that Americans enjoy them, necessarily afford full scope for propaganda from everybody, everywhere, any time.

Free propaganda is nothing but free publicity for the views, interpretations, arguments, pleadings, truths and untruths, half-lies and lies of all creation. Propaganda is good as well as bad.

The Institute for Propaganda Analysis, a non-profit organization, is located at 130 Morningside Drive, New York City. The monthly service is sold for \$2.00 per year. Bound volumes of the first year (1937-38) have been placed on sale at \$2.00.

"We are surrounded by clouds of propaganda." It is up to each of us to precipitate from those clouds the true and the false, the near-true and the near-false, identifying and giving to each classification its correct label. If this task is far beyond the facilities or ability of most of us, the fact has to be accepted as the price we pay for liberty.

But precisely how should we deal with the lesser evil? Dr. John Studebaker, Commissioner of Education of the United States, made a suggestion in connection with the recent European crisis. He said:

The student who missed hearing Chamberlain or Hitler because he was forced by an inflexible school program to conjugate German verbs or to report on the Elizabethan period of English history, was deprived of some real education.

He missed the significant experience as a close observer of a performance which future historians may never quite be able to tell accurately. I hope millions of our youth experience an acceleration in learning by being stimulated to think and study about today's exciting and thought-provoking pronouncements and events.

Dr. Studebaker's suggestion is excellent. It suggests the need for analysis of the printed and spoken word in today's propagandas; and remember it is *today's* propagandas which concern us most because they flow from the issues which we as citizens must decide today or tomorrow. Secondly, in analyzing today's propagandas, we tend to make ourselves more capable of analyzing the propagandas which are certain to assail us and to assail the young people in our schools tomorrow, next year, or five years hence.

Now, assuming that our public schools are operated to promote public welfare, and recognizing that public welfare depends upon public decisions made by millions of individuals, and that these decisions can be made wisely only if they are made by an intelligent, informed citizenry educated to make decisions which will contribute to the improvement of democracy, we come to just one conclusion, and that is that the school should consciously set out to

organize a school program so that young people do have understanding of current events, of today's great issues and conflicts, and of the propagandas which cause them, which result from them, which are associated with them. Particularly does this obligation rest upon the classroom teacher. Insofar as young people are able to recognize propaganda when they see it and, having recognized it, begin an analysis of it, they will take the first step against being swept off their feet by fears and hysterias, that is, they will hold judgment in abeyance while starting to gather facts and to check assumptions. This means they will not be left to their own wishful thinking.

Facts Alone Can Prove Almost Anything

Facts alone, let us remember however, can be made to prove almost anything. Facts must be considered in connection with definite assumptions. For example, there are two types of human organization. One—the democratic type—assumes that the individual must be respected for what he is worth, that government shall serve the individual. The other—the authoritarian—assumes that individuals shall serve the state and that as individuals they shall not be respected for their own opinions, their own intrinsic worth. We can marshal facts to support either assumption. What kind of life do we want to live? What is the purpose of life? The Institute for Propaganda Analysis has a major assumption, namely, that the democratic way of life, whose criteria are set forth in the Bill of Rights, is the most desirable way of life. Here opinions are respected no matter whence they come—whether from Jews, Catholics, Negroes, or foreign-born. These opinions, by this assumption, must run the gauntlet of criticism just as does the motor car which must go through all sorts of trying tests on the proving lot before it leaves the factory.

Study of current events revealed through the news, the newsreel, and radio news broadcasting, must mean much more than casual reading or casual listening. We can't hope that just by casual reading of newspapers and just by casual listening to the radio young people will receive educational experience of any particular worth. They need teacher guidance to make them discriminating and to build in them a healthy skepticism. They need to learn the methods of science in testing authorities, in weighing evidence. When this happens, their skepticism will not run into cynicism. No good teacher wants to destroy a pupil's faith in the fact that life can be made worthwhile. Rather, good teachers want to make that faith stronger by building it on tested knowledge.

The Institute for Propaganda Analysis believes that in the classroom and in the adult study group the most useful line of approach to propaganda analysis is through a *preliminary examination of what is said* in an advertisement, in a political speech, in a newsreel, or in any other public utterance—such examination, of course, to be *followed by search for the evidence on which such a statement may rest and*

the means whereby it may be verified. We lead on from this basic process to *the study of motives which may have existed in the mind of the person making the utterances*—to factors which may have prejudiced his point of view. Lastly, we come to *an examination of the persuasive force of the statement itself*, that is, to the evaluation of its appeals to people's interests, needs, desires, and the like, such as appeals to desire for popularity, vanity, or health.

One of the main purposes of the institute's experimental study program in propaganda analysis is to contribute to the preparation of teachers, of girls and boys, and of their parents for responsible citizenship in a democracy. It should help them to understand the methods whereby experts arrive at their decisions, and *to be able themselves* to use methods of fact-finding, logical reasoning, and critical thinking independently in all aspects of their daily lives. It is important that citizens of a democracy should not rely blindly upon the opinions of authorities. It is important also that people should be encouraged to make experiments and series of observations concerning the things about which experts or authorities pass judgment.

It is also important that young people and adults should recognize that in many of the practical judgments which they make they have to use data which are not reliable. They should recognize that much of their information comes from people who have an axe to grind; that they must consider the devices deliberately used by speakers and writers in order to misrepresent an issue, or to persuade people to come to a conclusion that they would not come to if they possessed relevant facts.

In order to bring about such recognition, it is important that teachers, group leaders, and, with careful guidance and competent leadership, young people give attention to the psychological processes through which judgments are formed. It is vital, too, that they consider the part that self-interest, the part that respect for evidence, and the part that social pressure play in shaping belief.

Purpose to Develop Critical Thinking

Another main purpose of propaganda analysis is to give life and meaning to adult study and to all school courses—in brief, to make the general education of young people and of adults live up to its avowed purposes, that is, preparation for intelligent citizenship and for the problem-solving on which citizenship in democracy depends. In particular, the scientific method of propaganda analysis should help them to check the validity of assertions which they hear made and to see the purposes back of them. It should equip them for doing so by reference to reliable authorities or by the making of experiments for themselves where that is practicable.

The method suggested herein is the method of science. Propaganda analysis, therefore, examines opinions, assumptions, forms of argument, just as it examines facts, alleged facts, lies, truths, half-truths, and all manner of innuendo

and misdirections flowing from our current controversies. If a study could be made quickly of the recent war crisis in Europe it might accomplish much even now in cancelling the harm done by the innuendo, misdirection, lies, half-truths and specious arguments which preceded the "crisis." Such planned chicanery made a Europe and a world fearful of a war crisis, then apparently created the crisis, and enabled Hitler and Chamberlain successfully to accomplish a pact to make Europe safe for fascism. Safe? Well, that depends. Europe will be safe for fascism if present censorship and suppression of democratic realities can continue in England and France. It will be likely to be safe if France and England continue to keep off the radio those voices which criticized Daladier and Chamberlain for appeasing the dictators. It is no accident that Americans see more clearly the European picture than do Europeans. The reason is that Americans have had the benefit of skilled news-gatherers and commentators. No better research is done in America than is done by our best newspaper men. Unfortunately, along with excellent newspaper reporting, our press carries an enormous amount of poor reporting and of banal entertainment. That is why mere reading of newspapers without discrimination is not educative.

The Group Leader's Guide to Propaganda Analysis, by Violet Edwards, educational director, revised experimental study materials, published by the Institute, stresses the importance of making young people in our high schools and colleges discriminating in their reading, able to see the difference between the foreign correspondence of a paper like the *Chicago Daily News* and the foreign correspondence of a paper like the *Chicago Tribune*. The journalism teachers will have their pupils familiar with such writers as Webb Miller of the United Press; James A. Mills of the Associated Press; Ferdinand Kuhn, Jr. of the *New York Times*; Joseph Driscoll of the *New York Herald-Tribune*; Paul Y. Anderson of the *St. Louis Star-Times*; and O. K. Bovard, late of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

Contrast such writers, whose writings represent research extraordinarily well-done when one considers how difficult the conditions are under which it often must be done, with other writers who represent prejudice, banality, gossip, and rumor and who give no indication that it is prejudice, banality, gossip, and rumor.

Lack of discrimination on the part of recipients makes propaganda effective. News stories based on prejudice often are super-charged with emotion; and they are easily received and again given forth by our young people and adults if that emotion ties to their fears, their hatreds, and their wishful thinking. Here the searching of our own minds is important. A human mind is a camera film which is conditioned to receive some impressions and to reject others, to receive some propagandas and to reject others.

If we are conditioned as children by parents, teachers, and associates to hate Catholics, we will be receptive to anti-Catholic propaganda. If we are conditioned to hate Jews, we will be receptive to anti-Semitic propaganda. If we are conditioned to have tolerance for Jews, Catholics, foreigners, Negroes, Episcopalians, Baptists, Methodists, and Seventh-Day Adventists, we would be less likely to be carried off our feet by propagandas of hatred and fear directed against such groups.

If pupils' minds are conditioned in school to respect the scientific method of testing hypotheses, of weighing evidence, of forming tentative conclusions and keeping them tentative until thoroughly tested, our pupils will be proof against the waves of propaganda which can sweep them off their feet.

Schools Cooperate in Determining Methods

Method, therefore, is an important word in propaganda analysis. The institute, in the first year of its existence, has attempted to create and compare various methods of approach to propaganda. In this work it has had the cooperation of about four hundred schools, some of which are experimental schools operated in connection with Columbia University, Northwestern University, Stanford University, the University of Missouri, and Ohio State University. There have been many private and public schools throughout the country cooperating. As a result of the first year's study, the institute has just published the volume, *The Group Leader's Guide to Propaganda Analysis*. This brings together suggestions flowing out of the experience of scores of high-school and college teachers. It attempts to set forth precisely what can be done in classes in English and journalism, home economics, art, music, and science. But what it sets forth is still tentative and experimental.

These pioneering teachers, who have helped create this approach to propaganda analysis, have made only a start. Other pioneers are needed to relate propaganda study to classroom work in standard courses in English literature, composition, public speaking, journalism, music, art, geometry, history, and the social studies.

One observation which should be of interest to school administrators comes out of this work, namely, this approach to dealing with the ever-present problem of propaganda has revealed that the scientific method is not only the best method educationally, but the safest method for treatment of highly controversial issues. Take, for example, issues related to the New Deal or to Chamberlain's policy in England. Without advocating any conclusion, it is possible to approach these dynamic matters by examining propagandas related to them. For example, propagandas for and against the New Deal or aspects of the New Deal can be examined. The various devices used by the propagandist can be identified, using for this purpose such categories as were set forth in the November, 1937, letter of the institute. Having

thus identified propaganda and the devices used by the propagandist, pupils can be set to investigating the facts upon which the propaganda statements are based, outlining the assumptions related to these facts, attempting to get some measure of the feelings excited in them by the propagandist's words, seeing how these feelings relate to their own backgrounds, their own conditioning, their own prejudices, biases, convictions, ideals, fears, hatreds, aspirations, and hopes. Pupils then will find it useful to identify the propagandist. What are his motives, his interests? If the democratic assumption is accepted, would his interests, if realized, be in line with that assumption? In brief, propaganda analysis attempts to do in the field of ideas what chemists, physicists, biologists, and physicians have done in the field of atoms, molecules, ions, and bacteria. It is no more likely that social, economic, and political troubles will be cured by incantations than it is that smallpox can be cured by incantations. That is why propa-

ganda analysis is needed so desperately today; because today we live in one of those transition periods of history when there is social upheaval and when too many persons are attempting to reach some kind of stability by the method of incantation, by exorcising devils, and by spreading mass hysteria.

In summary, propaganda analysis, as an organized process, is experimental group study along six lines, all inter-related:

1. Solution of today's conflicts and issues through the application of critical inquiry, in the scientific temper (possible only within the democratic framework).
2. Strains or pressures which society creates for individuals.
3. Why people think and act in certain ways under the stimuli of appeals to their interests, needs, desires, prejudices, fears, and the like.
4. Interests and desires to which propagandists appeal.
5. The purposes underlying the appeals of these propagandists.
6. The methods, or the means they use to achieve their ends or purposes.

Chairman Dies vs. Founding Fathers

WASHINGTON, D. C.—George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and other "Founding Fathers" were questioned today by the Dies Committee which is investigating un-American and radical activities. The appearance of America's revolutionary heroes created a sensation such as Washington (D. C.) has seldom experienced, as it was not thought that a subpoena could reach to the other world.

General Washington received a great ovation as he mounted the witness stand in the capital named after him. Chairman Dies broke two gavels before he could restore order and focus the attention on himself.

Washington was subjected to only the briefest questioning, Mr. Dies asking him if it was true that in negotiating a treaty with Tripoli in his second administration, he had assured the Mohammedans that "the government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion."

"That is true," said the General. He also pleaded guilty to the charge that at Valley Forge he had ordered the public reading of Tom Paine's *Crisis*, as he thought it a good book for pepping up the ragged and undernourished soldiers.

The sensational witness of the day was Thomas Jefferson, who described himself as the third president of the United States and author of the Bill of Rights of the Constitution. He was questioned by Chairman Dies as follows:

"Is it true, Mr. Jefferson, that you have openly advocated the desirability of revolution?"

Mr. Jefferson: I have, sir, and on numerous occasions.

Mr. Dies: And this was after our Revolution, after 1783?

Mr. Jefferson: Yes.

Mr. Dies: You were not of Mr. Coolidge's opinion that we had had our Revolution, and that one was enough?

Laughter broke out in the courtroom when Jefferson asked who Mr. Coolidge was, and on being told, asked if Mr. Coolidge had ever had a revolution. A man in the audience yelled, "Boston police strike!" and was forcibly ejected by attendants.

Mr. Jefferson thereupon assured the chairman that he was emphatically on record as being in favor of a more or less permanent revolution.

Mr. Dies: Do you recognize the following words as yours, Mr. Jefferson? "The spirit of resistance to government is so valuable on certain occasions that I wish it to be always kept alive. It will often be exercised when wrong but better so than not to be exercised at all. I like a little rebellion now and then. It is like a storm in the atmosphere." Are those your words?

Mr. Jefferson: They are. But there is a better passage, if you will permit—

Mr. Dies: Excuse me, I'm coming to that. Here is a long paragraph in which you incite the people to the spirit of resistance. "Let them take arms. The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood

of tyrants. It is its natural manure." You are an agitator, Mr. Jefferson.

Mr. Jefferson: I *was* an agitator, Mr. Dies.

Mr. Dies: You still are. You may be dead, but these words are still available. They are in the books, in the libraries, accessible to the school children whose tender minds are susceptible to plausible appeals to revolt. That is why we subpoenaed you and General Washington and Mr. Madison and the others, because tradition is powerful, and dangerous words and deeds in the past have a way of echoing in the present. It is men like you, Mr. Jefferson, that give the Reds aid and comfort. This committee asks you to recant and to make a statement to it and to the press that you have taken a saner view, so as to undo some of the harm you have done.

Mr. Jefferson: Tut, Mr. Dies. Let us get on to another passage.

Mr. Dies: You are a Bolshevik, Mr. Jefferson. Not even a communist would dare use such language today. How did you get away with it?

Mr. Jefferson: The Bill of Rights which I wrote and put through was still fresh in those days, and there were no Dies committees.

Mr. Dies: Do not insult the committee, Mr. Jefferson.

We are here on a sacred errand, to preserve fundamental American institutions.

Mr. Jefferson: Those are institutions which I helped build, and I am as skeptical of this committee's motives as I am of its abilities in this matter of protection.

Mr. Dies: This is the Twentieth Century, not the Eighteenth, Mr. Jefferson. Permit us to solve our own problems in our own way. Evidently you lived in bloodier days than ours, as shown by this passage of yours: "The late rebellion in Massachusetts has given more alarm than I think it should have done. Calculate that one rebellion in thirteen states in the course of eleven years is but one for each state in a century and a half. No country should be so long without one."

Mr. Jefferson: Policemen and company thugs did not shoot down citizens in my day, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. Dies: Nevertheless, your principles are those of sheer Bolshevism.

Mr. Jefferson: They used to be accounted the principles of pure Americanism, as enunciated by the founder of your party, Mr. Dies.

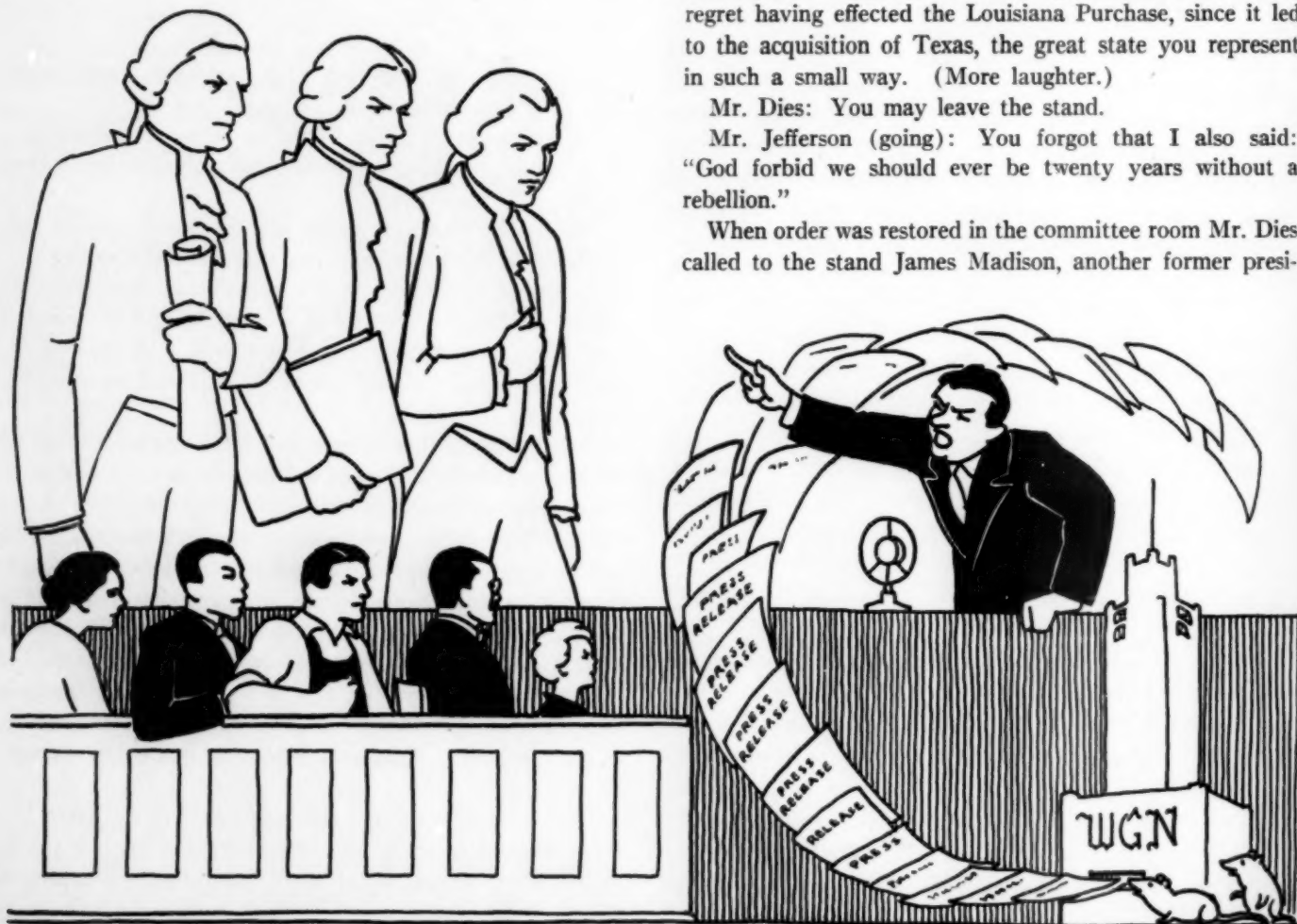
Mr. Dies: And who is that?

Mr. Jefferson: I, Thomas Jefferson. (Laughter.) May I say, taking advantage of a ghost's privilege to dodge contempt of Congress, that meeting you makes me rather regret having effected the Louisiana Purchase, since it led to the acquisition of Texas, the great state you represent in such a small way. (More laughter.)

Mr. Dies: You may leave the stand.

Mr. Jefferson (going): You forgot that I also said: "God forbid we should ever be twenty years without a rebellion."

When order was restored in the committee room Mr. Dies called to the stand James Madison, another former presi-



dent of the United States and one of the framers of the Constitution. Mr. Madison testified that he entertained views concerning economic determinism which were substantially in accord with those expressed by one Karl Marx.

A number of witnesses, among them Alexander Hamilton and Patrick Henry, were called to prove that among the patriot forefathers there were several who held that the Constitution was a very imperfect document.

A rumor which caused considerable stir and anticipation in the committee room was that Benjamin Franklin, John and Samuel Adams, James Monroe, Thomas Paine, Gouverneur Morris, and John Marshall would be put on the stand to establish their attitudes toward wine, women, and song, on the ground that lax moral standards are closely associated with political and social radicalism. But although these heroes were present as if ready to testify, they were not called.

Tomorrow the committee will question Andrew Jackson

and Abraham Lincoln. It is understood that the examination of the martyred ex-president will take in the following territory:

1. Charges that he was a "dictator" during the Civil War.
2. Public statement made by him to the effect that labor is prior to and independent of capital, a statement tending to incite class hatred.
3. Letter he is alleged to have written and allowed to be made public just before his assassination, in which he accused the big business interests of conspiracy to undermine "democracy" and destroy the "Republic."
4. Public statement credited to him that people had a right to change their form of government by force, if necessary.

Veteran observers here and sources close to Chairman Dies, who for obvious reasons cannot be quoted, say that an attempt will be made to discredit the founder of the Republican party as a Red.

New Protection for the Child Laborer

◆ GERTRUDE BINDER

THE THIRD ATTEMPT by the federal government to place controls upon the employment of children and young people in interstate commerce industries went into operation on October 24, 1938, when the Fair Labor Standards Act with its excellent child labor provisions became effective. Two previous efforts at federal child-labor legislation, one enacted in 1916 and the other in 1919, were declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. However, as a result of the more liberal interpretation of the term "interstate commerce" accepted by the Supreme Court in recent decisions, it is generally believed that the new law will withstand the test of constitutionality.

Under the child-labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, it is illegal to ship across state lines goods produced in any establishment in which children under sixteen years of age have been employed within thirty days prior to such shipment, or in which young people from sixteen to eighteen have been employed in any occupation found and declared hazardous by the chief of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, who is charged with enforcement of these provisions. Exception is made of the employment of children by their parents or guardians in industries other than mining or manufacturing. Children between the ages of fourteen and sixteen may be employed at times by order of the Children's Bureau in occupations other than mining and manufacturing and under conditions which will not interfere with their schooling, health, or general well-being.

No investigations have been made to date of occupations believed to be hazardous, and none has been designated as unsuitable for sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds. Under regulations issued immediately after the law took effect the occupations completely closed to children under sixteen are mining and manufacturing, operating or helping on motor vehicles, and messenger service. Other employment is permitted outside of school hours for not more than three hours on any school day and eight hours on any other day. Pending a public hearing, an order prohibiting night work between the hours of 7 P.M. and 6 A.M. has been temporarily suspended.

Enforcement of the child-labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act is carried out through a system of employment certificates in the issuance of which both state and federal agencies cooperate. Forty states in which certificates of age issued to employed minors have the same force and effect as federal certificates have already been designated. The only states in which plans for cooperation had not been worked out by December 1 were Idaho, Iowa, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, and Wyoming. In these states the Children's Bureau has provided that for the present a birth certificate or record of baptism will be accepted. The act does not make it mandatory for employers to have certificates of age for their minor employees, but it does provide that if an employer has such a certificate on file he is protected against unwitting violation of the law.

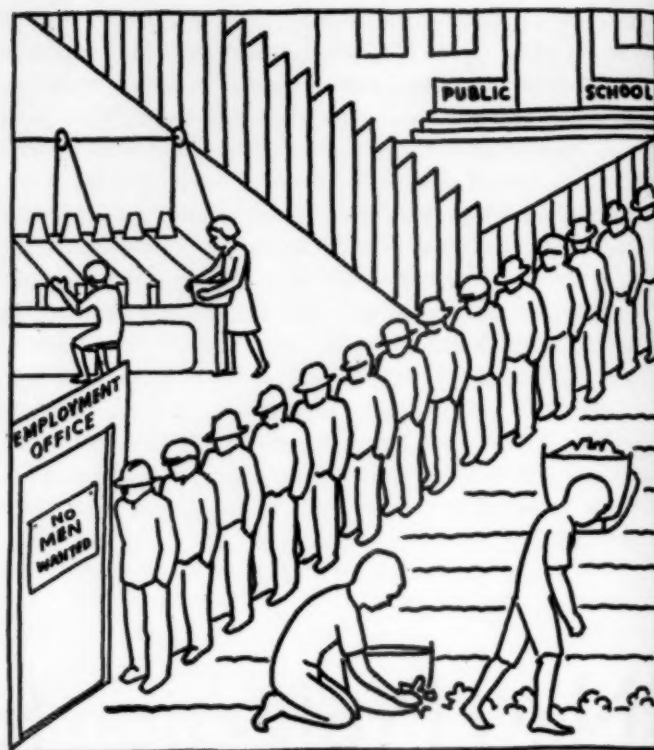
Miss Katherine Lenroot, chief of the Children's Bureau, has estimated that about 50,000 children under sixteen years of age and an unknown number of sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds are affected by the new law. This does not include those employed in certain occupations whose status under the act is not yet definitely determined. Newsboys, for instance, come in this group. Although Elmer F. Andrews, who is administrator of the wages-and-hours section of the act, has announced that newspapers, except those specifically exempted, are covered, an article in *Editor and Publisher* of November 5 stated that the question of newsboys is still unsettled. The author of the article raised three points: whether newsboys are employees of the publishers whose papers they distribute, whether they operate in interstate commerce, and whether contracts by which newsboys work as "little merchants" or "independent contractors" relieve the publisher of employer-employee responsibilities. However, since the act went into effect, most newspapers have discontinued the use of delivery boys under fourteen years of age. They estimate that out of 600,000 carriers, about 60,000 have been affected by this action.

In the field of commercialized agriculture the effects of the new legislation will probably be slight. Employment of children under sixteen in agricultural establishments is barred during the hours of legally required school attendance. However, the child labor and compulsory school attendance laws of agricultural states often exempt children for work on farms. In many, also, the children of migrants, who make up a large proportion of farm laborers, are not required, and sometimes not permitted to attend school.

Actually, although the child-labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act represent an important step forward in the protection of children against harmful employment, the boys and girls which it reaches make up a small group when compared with the number still at work in violation of neither state nor federal legislation.

Although no complete count of the number of child laborers in the country has been made, a conservative estimate, based on the 1930 census figures on occupational shifts and on trends in child labor as reflected in employment certificate figures, placed the number less than sixteen years of age gainfully employed in agriculture and industry before the enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Act at 850,000. Most of these children are to be found in agriculture and in purely local trades and occupations not covered by the new federal legislation. Among the types of employment commonly entered by children that are not reached by the Fair Labor Standards Act are clerical work—chiefly clerks in retail stores and messenger, errand, and office work—and domestic and personal service, which does not include housework in the child's own home, but does include employment in beauty parlors, hotels, restaurants, and laundries.

The Children's Bureau periodically compiles and releases statistics based on employment certificates issued in a group



of states and cities reporting regularly to the federal agency. These figures do not show the extent of child labor, since they are not based on a complete count, but they are extremely useful in indicating trends both in the number of children leaving school for work each year, and the types of occupations entered. They show that in recent years there has been a shift in child employment from the mechanical and manufacturing industries which predominate in interstate commerce to the purely local trades mentioned above. They also show that, except where controlled by state legislation, fluctuations in the number of children going to work for the first time, regardless of the occupations entered, follow similar movements in adult employment. In localities where minimum age legislation remained unchanged during the two years, there was, as compared with corresponding periods in 1936, a 20 per cent increase in the number of fourteen- and fifteen-year-old children beginning work during the first six months of 1937, a period of generally rising employment, followed by a 16 per cent decrease during the last half of the year, when the number of adult unemployed rose.

In New York and Rhode Island, where a sixteen-year minimum age was established in 1936, the issuance of employment certificates to children under sixteen has practically ceased. Before the new state laws became effective, more than half of all certificates issued in the entire reporting area were in these two states. For all states and cities reporting to the Children's Bureau, 41 per cent fewer certificates were issued during the entire year of 1937 than in

1936. If New York and Rhode Island are eliminated, the decline for the remaining areas was only 1 per cent.

Employment certificate data give, of course, no indication of the number of children illegally employed, nor of the number to be found in occupations for which work permits are not required. By far the largest number of children at work today are to be found in industrialized agriculture, where employment certificates are not required.

Studies of migrants, including investigations of child labor along the Pacific Coast and on the New Jersey truck farms, undertaken during the year by the National Child Labor Committee, show that particularly abusive use of children as laborers is widespread on large, commercialized fruit and vegetable farms. Migratory workers, although absolutely necessary for the production of commercial crops, meet discrimination in the communities into which they move at the harvesting season. Usually they are housed in makeshift, unsanitary camps, where overcrowding and a complete lack of privacy prevail. They are excluded, either through their own ignorance or through local regulation, from the health and other social services from which residents benefit.

Migratory children work alongside their parents, putting in long hours at tasks which involve repetitive processes unsuitable for undeveloped muscles and which are carried on under conditions often hazardous as well as exhausting. Their education suffers, both as a result of their work in the fields and the reluctance of local authorities to admit them to schools. In some states non-residents are not covered by compulsory school attendance laws; in others no attempt is made to enforce the law as it affects them. Where they are admitted to the local schools, migratory children are so poorly received by both teachers and fellow pupils that some communities have considered it advisable to segregate them in special classes, separately housed. As a result of these conditions, only a few of the children of migrants complete the eighth grade, and none go further.

In only a few instances do state child-labor laws provide minima for child employment equal to those established by the Fair Labor Standards Act for interstate commerce. Only ten states have sixteen-year age minima for factory employment during school hours. Three states place the minimum at fifteen years, twenty-four at fourteen, and eight, through exemptions, still permit children under fourteen to leave school for employment. Thirty-one states have practically

no restrictions on hazardous employment for sixteen- and seventeen-year-old minors, and nine have almost no such regulation even for children of fourteen and fifteen. During 1938 nine state legislatures met in regular session, but in none of them was any advance made over these basic standards.

The pending Child Labor Amendment to the Federal Constitution would give to Congress the power to extend to children in all types of occupations the protection now given by the Fair Labor Standards Act to those in interstate commerce industries.

This amendment, which was submitted to the states in 1924, provides that Congress shall have the power to "limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age." Ratification by thirty-six states is needed to make this proposal a part of the Constitution, and at the close of 1937, twenty-eight had given it their approval. No new endorsements were added in 1938.

In Kansas and Kentucky, both of which ratified in 1937, opponents of the amendment challenged the validity of ratification in the courts. Both cases involved three major issues: whether a state which has affirmatively rejected an amendment can subsequently ratify; whether, since an amendment must be ratified by three-fourths of the states, the Child Labor Amendment which has been affirmatively rejected at some time by more than one-fourth of the states is thereby killed once and for all; and whether, since the Supreme Court has held that an amendment must be ratified within a "reasonable" time, the Child Labor Amendment is still open for ratification fourteen years after its submission by Congress to the states.

The Supreme Court of Kansas upheld validity of ratification by Kansas on all three points. The Court of Appeals of Kentucky declared ratification by Kentucky null and void on the same points. Both cases were appealed to the United States Supreme Court where arguments were heard on October 10 and 11, but at the time of this writing no decision has been announced. Should the court find that the proposal is still valid, the way will be opened for a final drive for ratification in 1939. Should the decision be unfavorable, it will be necessary to formulate a new proposal and make a fresh start toward winning for all American children complete and equal protection against abusive child labor and the attendant losses of schooling, health, and opportunities for adult earnings and advancement.



A College Is Fired

◆ LEO HUBERMAN

Only an administrative officer drunk with power, or beguiled by self-importance, or exceedingly inept, makes important decisions without wide consultation with his colleagues.

DEAN WILLIAM F. RUSSELL
Teachers College Record,
Vol. 38, p. 112, Nov., 1936

* * *

ON NOVEMBER 10, 1938, Dean William F. Russell of Teachers College, at a special student-faculty assembly, announced the dissolution on June 30, 1939, of New College, the autonomous experimental teacher-training unit of Teachers College. The announced reason was a deficit of \$35,000.

Professor Donald G. Tewksbury, the director of New College, had not been consulted in the making of the decision; the Dean's Advisory Committee of Teachers College had not been consulted in the making of the decision; the New College Advisory Committee had not been consulted in the making of the decision. Professor Tewksbury and Professor Evenden, chairman of the New College Advisory Committee, were advised of the decision on November 2; five members of the New College faculty, also on the staff of Teachers College, were advised of the decision on November 8; the rest of the New College faculty were advised of the decision at 1 P.M. on November 10; at 2 P.M. the dean appeared before the student-faculty assembly and there the students were advised of the decision.

As might be expected, the sudden announcement created consternation in the New College body. There had been no warning of what was coming. In May, 1938, a bulletin had been published containing the announcement that "New College was entering upon a new phase." Professor Tewksbury had been appointed director, not chairman as his predecessor had been, or temporary director or adviser; his title appeared to be quite as permanent as that of director of the Advanced School of Education, director of Educational Research, or any of the other directors. He had assumed his duties, officially, in June, 1938, and had immediately instituted various economies which resulted in a radical cut of the deficit. Important structural changes and decorative improvements had been made in the quarters assigned to New College, at considerable cost to Teachers College. Incoming registration had increased by one-half, and the new students had been admitted without any statement that the continuance of the college beyond the present year was doubtful; four of them in fact, from Iraq, had

been notified by letter that they were enrolled in New College for three years. A new, vigorous, and hopeful spirit had been infused into New College. It looked, indeed, as though we were entering a new phase. There wasn't a single cloud on the horizon.

Then, without warning, came the announcement of the dissolution.

The immediate reaction of the students and faculty was that the college must be saved, that the undemocratic procedure by which it was liquidated be condemned, and assurance obtained that it would not happen in the future. Out of the crisis came a unanimity of students and faculty which was as remarkable as it was unprecedented in the history of American colleges. Committees of students, teachers, alumnae, and parents were set up to carry on the fight. New College, always an active place in the past, became more active than anyone would have dreamed possible before. The work of the college became the program for saving it. Never before was college work better done. Page 7 of the New College catalogue became our bible, a living bible, a handbook for action:

New College is deeply concerned that all students should become thoroughly aware of what is happening in contemporary society, both for the sake of their own insight and that they may be able better to interpret the changing social scene to others. Education itself is meaningful only in relation to the economic and social conditions of the times. It is all too easy to acquire a sideline attitude toward crucial issues, to become satisfied with intellectual speculation, and to hold one's self aloof from the realities of social and political activity. Social problems take on new meaning in practical application. To substitute vigorous activity in the place of academic neutrality in public affairs, New College students are urged to go beyond academic discussion to participation in social and political movements, each in accordance with his own convictions. Students are preparing not only to be teachers in a narrow sense, but to be active participants in the community in which they will work and be able to assume educational leadership. They are to be cognizant of the difficulties in achieving a better social order and conversant with the judgment of experts concerning social problems. They are to be tactful in dealing with controversial issues, but not compromising. Above all, they are to have a special concern for reconstructing educational institutions in light of the needs of a changing civilization.

The crisis has served as a learning situation without parallel. Remarkable results are being achieved through the integrated work of students and faculty on every committee. Our committee on the significance of New College is drawing up a statement of its value to the educational world; our publicity committee is circularizing hundreds of people with a statement of the facts, and calling for help;

our press committee prepares a running account of significant happenings every day; our photography committee is trying to get a pictorial record of the struggle to complement the history in words being prepared by the records committee; our arts committee is describing the field of action in original pictures and posters of superb quality; our budget committee is trying to get at the facts and figures of the alleged deficit; our coordinating committee is directing the whole according to the lines laid down by the student-faculty body. Our whole procedure is a beautiful example of the democratic process.

The budget committee was faced with the most difficult job. At first, the only obtainable figures were those in the dean's annual reports. These were obviously insufficient—in fact, they showed that New College had a surplus, not a deficit. The dean responded to our request for further information with more detailed figures. We then learned that the deficit for last year was \$36,894.15, and for this year, it is estimated at \$25,800. The director of New College disagrees; his estimate is below \$15,000. The budget committee went over all the available figures and arrived at a deficit figure of \$3,800. This is one-tenth of one per cent of the total Teachers College budget.

The estimate may be wrong. But teachers and students at New College are in the absurd position of not having access to the budget. And the administration, which made the arbitrary decision to close New College, refuses to provide detailed information on the budget.

However, our case does not rest on a deficit of only \$3,800. New College, as the dean himself has indicated in the statement announcing the dissolution, has been an experiment that "has had the widest influence. . . . Professionalized subject matter, the seminar approach, field-work experience, community organization, foreign study, internship, educational guidance, new type records and reports—all these are securing wide recognition and incorporation in other institutions for the education of teachers. No experiment has been more valuable for Teachers College."

Were the deficit \$35,000, as the dean contends, we believe, nevertheless, that this highly significant departure in the training of American teachers is worth the money and more.

We feel that the closing of New College is more than our own affair. It is properly the concern of the American people because the things at stake—democracy and socially realistic education—are too precious in this critical period to be attacked in any way, from any quarter.

A Statement on the Proposed Closing of New College

NATIONAL ACADEMIC FREEDOM COMMITTEE

ARNOLD SHUKOTOFF, Chairman

CHARACTERIZING THE DECISION to close New College, experimental wing of Teachers College, as arbitrary and a setback to progressive education in America, the National Academic Freedom Committee urges locals throughout the country to support efforts aimed at preventing the closing of New College.

In a statement issued by the N.A.F.C., it is pointed out that Dean William F. Russell's action is being challenged by a unanimous faculty and student body at New College, by the Columbia University chapter of Local 537, by the entire membership of Local 537, which includes faculty members in colleges throughout New York City, and by many prominent educators.

The resolution passed unanimously by the Columbia University union chapter at a meeting on November 18 characterizes the closing of New College as a setback to progressive education, points out that the positions of some twenty staff members are involved, and urges Dean Russell to request the trustees to reconsider their decision.

The undemocratic character of the decision is challenged by Dr. Alice V. Keliher, chairman of the Commission on Human Relations of the Progressive Education Association.

In a statement which appears in the *New York Times* of December 4, Dr. Keliher indicates that she has found "all over the country effects of the program of New College," and points out that the decision to close the college was made without reference to the faculty or alumnae.

The sole explanation given by Dean Russell for the decision is an alleged deficit of \$35,000; but as has been stated by Dr. Keliher, the figure given by the dean has varied on a number of occasions. Furthermore, the students and faculty of New College have issued a statement publicly challenging the dean's interpretation of budget figures and demonstrating that the alleged deficit is only \$3,800.

The National Academic Freedom Committee feels that the budgetary explanation is unacceptable for two reasons. First, a deficit of \$35,000 cannot be considered serious in a budget of nearly four million dollars and especially not in the case of a valuable experiment in teacher training. The educational contribution of New College has not been challenged even by the dean himself. Secondly, the budgetary explanation appears to be a subterfuge, considering the manner in which the decision to close New College was arrived at. "If it was merely a question of

failing finances," the N.A.F.C. states, "why could not the dean have consulted the students and faculty of New College? Why was not the faculty of Teachers College consulted? Why did the dean not discuss the matter with his own advisory committee and with the advisory committee of New College? It is very strange that the dean found it necessary to settle the whole matter with the president and the trustees, and then spring the decision as a *fait accompli* on the faculty and students of New College."

The secrecy which surrounded the decision and the arbitrariness with which it was made have given rise to speculations as to the real explanation. According to reports, some have attributed the decision to the present search of Teachers College for endowments. Others connect the decision with a conservative trend which has developed at Teachers College ever since the establishment a year ago of the Dean's Lay Council, a group of some 100 bankers, corporation officials, lawyers, etc., dedicated to the purpose of interesting the layman in education.

The National Academic Freedom Committee urges Locals to take the following actions:

1. Send resolution of protest to Dean Russell and to the trustees of Teachers College.
2. Request labor bodies in your area to do likewise.
3. Secure statements from prominent educators in your area and forward them to N.A.F.C.
4. Spread information regarding the matter by printing articles in local bulletins.
5. Report all action taken to N.A.F.C., 235 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

In the view of the N.A.F.C., whether or not the closing of New College has its origin in a growing attack on progressive education in certain circles, the effect is one of strengthening reactionary opposition to progressive education. The N.A.F.C. has accepted the New College case for action because freedom to experiment in teacher training, freedom to educate in crucial social issues, freedom to train prospective teachers for community leadership and participation in social movements are involved.

Consumer Incomes in the United States

Consumer Incomes in the United States, published by the National Resources Board presents for the first time a comprehensive picture of how the national income is distributed among the various consumer groups in the United States. The survey is based on a study of consumer purchases conducted by the Bureau of Home Economics of the Department of Agriculture and the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor in cooperation with the Works Progress Administration. The questions and answers appearing below are based on data contained in the report. The two charts on the next page were taken from the same report, pp. 19, 20.

1. *How large was the income distributed to consumers during 1935-36?* The National Resources Board estimates that nearly \$47,680,000,000 was distributed among 29,400,000 families of two or more members, comprising in all 115,966,000 persons. In addition, approximately 10,058,000 single persons received \$11,580,000,000; and 2,000,000 persons in institutions, hospitals, etc., and in the Civilian Conservation Corps and the military and naval forces received \$724,300,000. The total income distributed to all consumers over the year interval was nearly \$60,000,000,000.

2. *What was the average family income during the period surveyed?* If the total family income of \$47,680,000,000 had been divided equally among the 29,400,000 families (including those on relief), each family would have received an annual income of \$1,622.

3. *What was the actual distribution of income among families?* The income distribution varied widely. The top tenth of the 29,400,000 families received a total income

of \$17,164,000,000, or an average annual income of \$5,838 per family. The same number of families in the lowest tenth received a combined income of \$906,000,000 or \$308 per family per year. A large number of the families in the lowest tenth received less than the average of \$308 per year, while many families in the top tenth received a larger income than the average of \$5,838.

If the total income received by all families is divided into 10 equal parts of \$4,768,000,000 each, it is found that in the highest income brackets one-tenth of the total income was distributed among 147,000 families, each family averaging about \$32,400. In the lowest income brackets, the same amount of income was distributed among 9,261,000 families, each averaging about \$515 per year.

4. *How was the 1935-36 income distributed among non-relief wage-earning families?* Nearly 9,460,000 or 37.9 per cent of the 24,910,000 nonrelief families were families of wage earners. Out of every 1,000 of these families 105 received an income of less than \$500, 282 from \$500 to \$1,000, 289 from \$1,000 to \$1,500, 172 from \$1,500 to \$2,000, 80 from \$2,000 to \$2,500, and 72 received an income of over \$2,500. In other words, more than one third of all the nonrelief wage-earning families received an income of less than \$1,000 and more than two thirds of the families received less than \$1,500. About one out of every seven nonrelief wage-earning families received, during the 12-month period 1935-36, an income of \$2,000 or more.

PROPORTION OF NATION'S FAMILIES RECEIVING EACH TENTH OF AGGREGATE FAMILY INCOME 1935-36

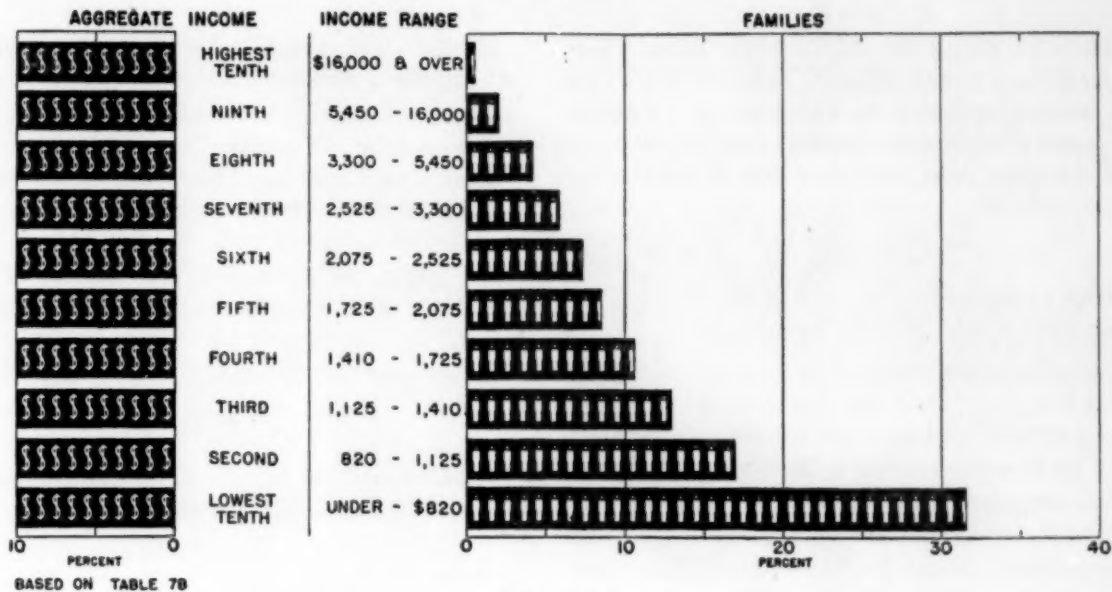


CHART 12

This chart may be read either by length of bars or by symbols
Each dollar symbol represents 1 percent of aggregate income of all families or \$476,792,380
Each figure symbol represents 1 percent of all families or 294,000 families

National Resources Committee

SHARE OF AGGREGATE FAMILY INCOME RECEIVED BY EACH TENTH OF NATION'S FAMILIES 1935-36

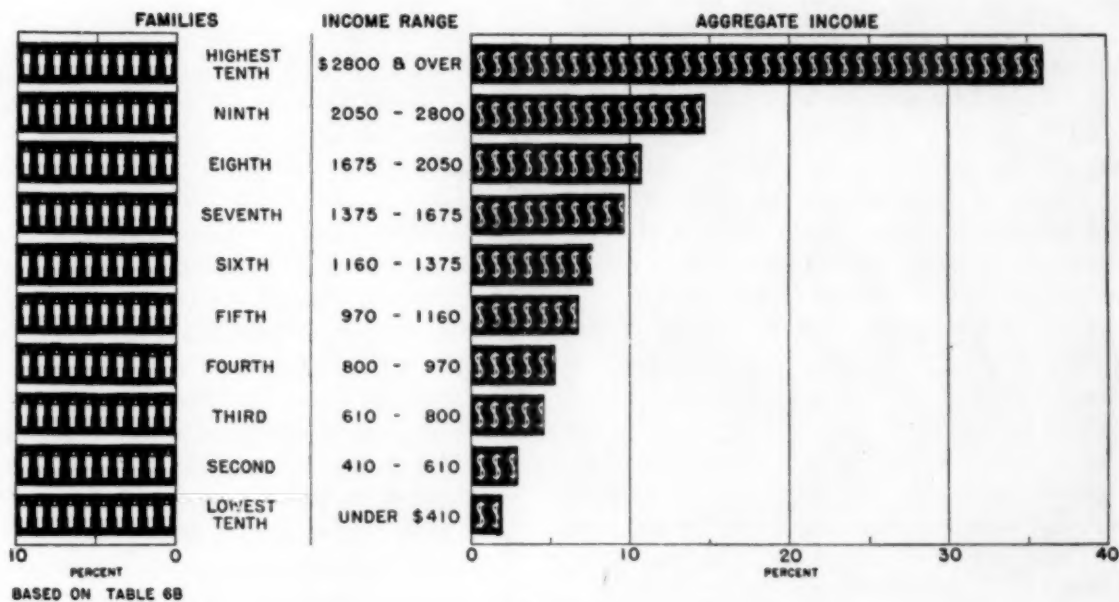


CHART 11

This chart may be read either by length of bars or by symbols
Each figure symbol represents 1 percent of all families or 294,000 families
Each dollar symbol represents 1 percent of aggregate income of all families or \$476,792,380

National Resources Committee

Among the New Books

THE STRUCTURE AND ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, by THE EDUCATIONAL POLICIES COMMISSION. *Washington: National Education Association of the United States and the American Association of School Administrators.* 128 pages. \$0.50.

OF THE SEVERAL PUBLICATIONS of the Educational Policies Commission, this book is by far the best. It is simple, clear, and in the main unequivocal.

The description of the structure and the scope of public education in Chapter I is brief but inclusive. The extension of the period of public education upward through the junior college and the probable changes in the function of the first two years of the present college curriculum is clearly foreshadowed and forcefully advocated, together with the inevitably accompanying changes in the boundary lines of elementary, secondary, and professional and university education.

The mistake in the separation of vocational education from the rest of the public-school system and the tragic results of the emotional attachment of rural America to the small school are graphically pictured.

Chapter II, dealing with the "Administration of Public Education," calls for a very high degree of participation by the rank and file. However, to those who accept the concept of democracy as defined by Professor Boyd Bode as that type of government in which the constant extension of the area of common agreement is the sole standard of progress, some issues have not been answered so unequivocally as might be expected. Is the administrator a member of the rank and file, selected to lead his colleagues in a democratic process, or does he represent management on the model of American industry? Is the board the employer of the teachers, or is it simply a group designated by society to work for the teachers in fulfilling certain functions that the teachers cannot accomplish? Are the teachers consultants and advisors only, or are they equal participants in the democratic process of carrying on by common consent? Are the teachers to have equal share with the administrator in the selection of their colleagues, or are they only to express an opinion, leaving the final decision to be made by the administrator according to his own prejudices and preferences? These are questions which the AMERICAN TEACHER would wish to have answered more explicitly.

And yet in spite of the dim shadow of business and industrial management across the pages of the book, the spirit and ideals of democracy appear with a much greater per-

vasiveness than is usually looked for in a statement representing the administrative viewpoint.

Traditionalism in the delegation of educational authority to the state is evident in Chapter IV and the consequent failure to emphasize the obligation of the federal government to promote education as a safeguard of the democratic system follows naturally.

Altogether the publication is a valuable contribution to the literature of contemporary affairs and should be widely read.

Milwaukee State Teachers College FRANK E. BAKER

★ ★ ★

PHILOSOPHER'S HOLIDAY, by IRWIN EDMAN. *New York: Viking Press.* 280 pages. \$2.75.

AS ONE OF THOSE FORTUNATES who listened to Professor Edman in his famous Phil 144, it is a privilege and a gratifying experience to read these essays. They are witty, urbane, and synoptic and they serve as an intimate credo of a many-sided philosopher who sometimes wishes to be known as a teacher and at other times as a non-professional philosopher. What these essays disclose is a rich transcript of a busy life, in which we are treated to insights about the people he has known and the places he has gone.

There is very little that is missing in these reminiscences. Throughout the book we learn what philosophy has been about, what it is—"a kind of caviare, a luxury of the understanding"—and what it should be about. On every page is the Socratic irony and humor, the exceptionally well-turned phrase. We are led into the innermost recesses of a metropolitan university. We are told that philosophers without portfolio, "without any professional connexion with academic philosophy, feel themselves driven to make their peace with first and last things." There is always before us a picture of the lover of music and painting, the philosopher-poet. The descriptions of former teachers and former students are without parallel in any literature because Professor Edman has those rare gifts of a prodigious memory and an unequalled style. He traces his youth as a pattern in which we see the growth and change of a New York in transition from 1910 to 1938 and the Harlem home of his boyhood before the Negro invasion, then "a quiet bourgeois neighborhood . . . of middle-class domesticity."

There is a parade of personalities known and loved. John Erskine, Carlton Hayes, John Dewey, Morrie Ryskind, Charles Beard, Harold Laski, Gilbert Murray, F.P.A., and many others stud the pages. And of George Sokolsky he can write, "he has passed from freshman anarchism to be

the apologist in the *Herald Tribune* for things as they are." The places he has been, many of which are the locales of the essays—Naples, Ascot, Oxford, Beirut, Damascus, Agri-gento—are too numerous to mention. You are left wondering how so much could be done in the short space of forty-two years. The witticisms and epigrammatic expressions which abound are worthwhile quoting, but space forbids. "There is no geography of the human spirit"; Schiller, "the pragmatist among the Brahmins"; "when ideas are used primarily as subjects of conversation, the subjects grow wearisome and new ones must be found"; "action is geared to the future, not to the past"; "a sabbatical leave is a professor's chance to get away from it all"; and "the sun still shines though we are in the sunset of an age, and the fact that there is a barbarism rampant in the world is itself a challenge to understanding" one cannot resist quoting.

Professor Edman is no inhabitant of the Ivory Tower. He has always been against war. He hates the bombing of open towns in China and Spain. He knows that now liberalism has "some marks of a dying cause." He knows many things: the causes of war and the causes of the mercurial American fashions in ideas. He may be wrong about "the reason a revolution is not nearer in England" but he does know Englishmen. He knows that there can no longer be a flight to the changeless. He knows that "in a society where the bombs batter against the mood of felicity, art and philosophy must, for the most part, be moral holidays."

That is what this book is, a philosopher's holiday where our philosopher-poet remains enough aloof from reality to be "philosophic" about it. He is an understanding savant, but the feeling remains that for a person of such warm sympathies, he is still disinterested, at times carping, and more than often cynical. He understands too well, but our philosopher believes that the time has not arrived to take sides. He prefers to remain on holiday, and what would be more appropriate for his stand than to quote lines from a poem of his:

*And I sigh for the days when left meant left
and weep in a world of peace bereft.*

Howard University

EUGENE HOLMES

★ ★ ★

WHITMAN, by NEWTON ARVIN. *New York: Macmillan.*
328 pages. \$2.75.

IN A DITHER OF EXCITEMENT to prove to readers and editors that they, unlike Mr. Arvin, are not socialists, reviewers of *Whitman* have, for the most part, managed to miss the point of a highly significant piece of literary criticism. The sustained excellence of Mr. Arvin's critical analyses in his *Hawthorne* and in his periodical writings during the long interval since the appearance of that book might have warned reviewers that he would not have entered lightly upon such an enterprise as this. They ought to have been prepared, in other words, to find precisely the kind of brilliant performance that the book actually offers. But apparently

they were so overwhelmed at his referring, on page two, to "the establishment and construction of a socialist order" as "the next inevitable step in human history" that such critical faculties as they possess were instantly paralyzed.

I should be the last to minimize the importance of Mr. Arvin's political views, but it is worth pointing out that all he did, in the staggering sentence I have just quoted, was to state—with a frankness that I admit is rare in contemporary criticism—the point of view from which he was making his study. Having thus candidly put himself on record, he was free to proceed with a type of analysis that, if not unique, is certainly rare. Poets do have ideas, and Whitman had a great many, so many that there never has been any agreement as to what he really believed. Mr. Arvin held that it was possible to find out, and set himself the task. He has brilliantly carried it out, and the results are of high importance. Here is the mind of a great poet who was also, in a dozen significant ways, a representative man of his century.

The book begins by talking about Whitman's attitudes towards politics: towards Jacksonian democracy, the Civil War, the corruption of the Gilded Age. It proceeds to his views on capital and labor, tracing the modification of his original admiration for individualism and the acquisitive life. Then comes a fine discussion of Whitman's opinions on science and religion, with the strange blending of Quaker pietism and transcendentalism on the one hand and eighteenth-century rationalism and scientific materialism on the other. Having thus defined Whitman's mind, Mr. Arvin is ready to consider its expression in his poetry, and the book ends with a suggestive chapter on *Leaves of Grass*.

Whitman's vast inconsistencies, which he himself recognized, have been emphasized by the disagreements among his critics. Mr. Arvin has overlooked none of them, and minimized none. Here is Whitman in all his confusion. Mr. Arvin simply persists in asking and answering one question: "On what side does his weight fall?" He sees the petty-bourgeois individualist in Whitman, the anti-abolitionist, the obscurantist. But he proves his right to say in his closing paragraph: "Enough and more than enough remains to fortify the writers and the men of our time in their struggles against a dark barbarian reaction, and to interest and animate the people of a near future in their work of building a just society. To such men it is and will be clearer and clearer that, from our recent past, we inherit no fuller or braver anticipatory statement than *Leaves of Grass* of a democratic and fraternal humanism."

To have proved this ought, it seems to me, to be, in Mr. Arvin's phrase, "enough and more than enough," but I can understand that there are those who, because of a vested interest in reaction or a purblind indifference to the march of barbarism, see no importance in the restoration of Whitman as a great democratic leader. What I cannot grant is that such persons have any right to minimize the task of clarification the book performs. With a delicate insight and a consummate fairness, Mr. Arvin has presented to us all the



diverse elements in a representative mind and a great poetic imagination. His work, regarded as pure scholarship, exposes the triviality and insensitivity of much academic research, and his exposition, beautifully sustained over the three hundred pages of the book, might well serve as a model for those who have expressed their objections to its thesis in a turgid and largely incomprehensible prose. To those of us who can take some personal pride in the fact that Mr. Arvin is president of the Western Massachusetts branch of the A. F. of T. and who, whether we agree with his analysis of the political future or not, sense as he does the significance of the present struggle, the book renders a particularly precious service, and renders it so well that we can afford to look with scorn on the petty objectors.

Harvard University

GRANVILLE HICKS

★ ★ ★

SOCIALISM ON THE DEFENSIVE, by NORMAN THOMAS. New York: Harpers. 304 pages. \$3.00.

BEFORE THE WORLD WAR socialism was a mighty and aggressive international movement, advancing from victory to victory. Today, with some notable exceptions, it is on the defensive, its forces divided, and its adherents more concerned with saving what they have than with daring to seek more. Throughout much of the world today the offensive has passed to fascism.

Norman Thomas' latest book is concerned in part with this rise of fascism, which he finds due to "the union of the economics of capitalism and the politics of absolute nationalism." The last great war and the treaties that followed caused the birth of fascism, as depression and the division in labor's forces permitted it to take power in many countries.

Thomas believes that the outstanding social development since the World War is the rise, neither of fascism nor of communism, but of the totalitarian state, whether fascist or communist. And to any sort of totalitarian state he is vigorously opposed, though he sees some elements of hope in the U.S.S.R. and none at all in fascism.

Most of the book is a description and criticism of the tactics that believers in a cooperative commonwealth have adopted in their efforts to check fascism's further growth. One such tactic is the Popular Front of labor and liberal republican groups, which Thomas supports only in the face of a real emergency such as existed in Spain or in France. In both countries, however, he criticizes the Popular Front for having moved to the right instead of to the left. In the United States he sees as yet no emergency that would justify

its use; indeed, political support of the New Deal now under any sort of Popular Front, he asserts, is inconsistent with effective education and organization for socialism.

Another defensive tactic to which Thomas objects even more vigorously is the "collective security" that most European socialists, and communists throughout the world advocate. Collective security probably means war, Thomas reminds us, and the surest thing about entry of the United States into war is that it will make us a totalitarian state. Whatever idealistic reasons certain groups may have, an alliance of non-fascist states will not be for democracy nor even against fascism, but primarily a league of the House of Have against the House of Have Not.

Socialism on the Defensive has the merits and the defects of much of Mr. Thomas' other work. The book is stimulating, and the writing is always vigorous and sometimes brilliant. The volume suffers, however, from hurried writing. The treatment of some topics, as planning, is sketchy, and the book may become dated because of its concern with immediate problems. Nevertheless, *Socialism on the Defensive* is an important contribution to our economic and political thinking. Those who disagree with Thomas, as well as those who agree with him, will find this latest book by America's foremost socialist of very great interest and value.

League for Industrial Democracy

JOEL SEIDMAN

★ ★ ★

AMERICAN PLAYWRIGHTS: 1918-1938; The Theatre Retreats from Reality, by ELEANOR FLEXNER, preface by JOHN GASSNER. New York: Simon and Schuster. 351 pages. \$2.50.

American Playwrights: 1918-1938 is devoted in the main to a comprehensive study of those dramatists whom popular recognition and the acclaim of the critics have already established as major figures but who have withdrawn more and more from experience with the people they have written about, with the resultant failure to live up to the courage and honest conviction of their earlier work. Partial studies of a few of these writers have been made before, notably in *New Theatre Magazine* and in John Howard Lawson's invaluable *Theory and Technique of Playwriting*. Miss Flexner, however, contributes a unifying study of the work as a whole and the causes of frustration of such men as Sidney Howard, S. N. Behrman, Maxwell Anderson, Eugene O'Neill, George S. Kaufman, and Philip Barry.

In her analysis of the contradictions of commercial Broadway and the destructive influences of Hollywood upon many phases of our theatre, with the consequent withdrawal of writers from living experience, Miss Flexner explains why audiences go away unsatisfied from productions that promise so much and end in such confusion, and why the writers themselves have sought refuge in the sentimental nostalgia of such plays as *Ah! Wilderness*, *High Tor*, *Star Wagon*, and *Fabulous Invalid*, or have depended upon technical dex-

terity or poetic form to conceal the half-truths or falsehoods inherent in their system of ideas.

In her chapter on "The New Realism" and in her conclusion, Miss Flexner deals more briefly with the real hope of the American theatre—the influence exerted upon it by such important ventures as the Theatre Union and the New Theatre League, and by younger playwrights like Clifford Odets, Irwin Shaw, Albert Bein, and Albert Maltz.

If the future, however, is to bring America a theatre of intelligence, variety, and incisive criticism of life, appealing to an audience as widespread as that of the movies, it can come, Miss Flexner believes, only through passage of the Federal Arts Bill which would put the Federal Theatre Projects on a permanent non-relief basis, and through the extension of trade-union cultural activities in which theatres must have an important place. And those of us who have seen the achievements of the Federal Theatre throughout the land and of Labor Stage in New York will agree with her.

Miss Flexner's book has the advantage of an introduction by John Gassner which emphasizes the validity and the limitations of the type of social criticism the book represents. One can hope Miss Flexner will go on to a further analysis of the problems of social drama which she raises in connection with "The New Realism." It is important that these problems are stated, though it is perhaps too early to answer them as Miss Flexner has answered many questions about the older generation of playwrights.

Washington Square College

BORIS GAMZUE



LOGIC: THE THEORY OF INQUIRY, by JOHN DEWEY.
New York: Henry Holt. 546 pages. \$4.00.

TO MOST PERSONS, I imagine, the word "pragmatism" suggests the view that "the truth is what works." While this suggestion is not entirely misleading, it is about as exact and adequate as the popular notion that what the Einsteinian theory of relativity means is that "everything is relative." Both theories, when thus crudely and ignorantly interpreted, excite equally fatuous "refutations." The pragmatist is told, for example, that an idea works *because* it is true—that it is not true because it works; and the follower of Einstein is told that the relative logically presupposes the absolute—hence *everything* can't be relative.

And so two more straw men are knocked out.

Perhaps these loose associations which have grown up about the term "pragmatism" explain why this word does not occur in the index of a book which has been fittingly described as the "crowning achievement" of the great career of Professor Dewey, our leading pragmatist. But while the word is absent, the meanings which pragmatists—like Peirce, James, Mead, and Dewey—have intended by the term are present throughout the book, informing its rich and varied contents, operating fruitfully in clearing up its technical subject-matters. In this review it will be possible to give only the barest hint of these meanings: to be appreciated, to be understood, they must be experienced—felt, manipulated, analytically grasped—in their contexts, as these contexts have been articulated, with unequalled patience and mastery, by Professor Dewey himself. Such an understanding of Dewey's logical theory will be difficult to achieve, and hence rare; for even the most imaginative blurb writer could hardly say that this book, "an inquiry into inquiry," reads like a detective story. But neither did Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*, Descartes' *Discourse on Method*, Bacon's *Novum Organum*, or Mill's *Logic*—with which classics, in my opinion, it deserves to be placed. Will Durant has not made philosophy "intelligible to the masses," nor, I fear, has Mr. Dewey, lifelong proponent though he has been of democracy in education. But perhaps the need is not so much for democracy in education as for education in a democracy. So let President Hutchins' bright high-school juniors try their coca-cola teeth on Dewey's *Logic*! In fact, let President Hutchins try his, which flash with such engaging confidence from the pages of the *Saturday Evening Post*.

But for those who have the required bodily aptitudes (and the time in which to exercise them), Mr. Dewey's treatise will provide instructive reading and very durable satisfactions. For in this book pragmatism, as an intellectual movement to make the unintellectual respected in philosophy, has come of age. This, fortunately, does not imply an early decline. For the pragmatists have discovered the theoretical elixir of perpetual youth: our ideas may mature without ever growing old. Nor is this desirable result achieved by a mere dialectical trick. Rather, it is declared to be the practical outcome of placing our reliance upon the *method* by which beliefs are reached, are logically validated, instead of upon their alleged self-evidence or authoritative backing. Method is, or ought to be, supreme. It is our only reliable guide, the only thing we can safely cling to, in a changing world.

What then, is this method, which seems to have acquired some of the honorific properties of a god? Dewey's whole book is the answer to this question. Knowledge is "warranted assertibility." Its meaning is relative to the methods by which it is gained and the biosocial contexts in which we operate and to which we are constantly responding and with which we are intimately *inter-acting* every moment of

our lives. Continuous dynamic processes relate the organism to its environment, and *what* this environment is functionally depends upon the properties, the interests and aptitudes, of the organism. Conversely, *what* the organism is functionally depends upon the properties of this environment. In other words, organism and environment are reciprocally involved in a total situation whose empirically observed traits cannot be understood apart from the properties of *both* organism and environment *qua* related.

Since logic has evolved out of such practical situations, and since its meaning, as a set of tentatively accepted operational principles, depends upon its existential application to such situations, whether crudely empirical or scientifically refined in character, we can see why long stretches of the traditional logic are verbal, barren, otiose—without vital significance for ordinary human living. Hence the much-needed reform of logic, if this ancient study is not to remain, in large part, a sterile manipulation of arbitrary symbols in an academic vacuum, the bemused repetition of one's private rosary in somebody else's ivory tower—preferably Gothic in style, with rose-colored windows and ivy-covered walls, that is to say, the latest thing from New York's most expensive architects. Have not college students been "introduced" often enough to this abstract design for making thinking unnecessary? As for the childish ambitions of some of its metaphysical proponents, they might be summed up in the nursery rhyme:

*There little tautology, don't you cry;
You'll be a Principle, by and by.*

Mr. Dewey's rigorous and thoroughgoing analysis, while not primarily destructive in intent, perhaps for that reason exposes all the more effectively the inanities and trivialities of this sort of academic abracadabra. He does this by showing, in empirical detail, *how* rational operations, and their generalization into *methodological* principles, "*grow out of* organic activities, without being identical with that from which they emerge." Means are adjusted naturally to consequences; for animals tend to repeat a successful act—an act leading to satisfaction, to the temporary re-establishment of that organic equilibrium whose disturbance was the immediate stimulus to the act—*sooner* than, and eventually *instead of*, alternative acts leading to dissatisfaction, acts which do *not* resolve internal conflicts. Purpose, then, has its roots in organic needs; bodily acts naturally give rise to consequences; causes, functioning as means or instruments, become empirically associated with ends-in-view; and the whole process may be said to achieve "rationality" if the means at hand are employed in such a manner as to reach the end-in-view with maximum efficiency.

But this is not, as it is sometimes said to be, a "business man's philosophy" in the sense that efficiency is an end in itself. Indeed, in Dewey's philosophy, there are no ends in themselves. Ends are but turning points or resting places, where one may catch his breath and look about for a moment at the surrounding landscape. But if we are good pragmatists we are to do this, apparently, not for the sake of relaxation or the esthetic experience as such, but in order that we may the better re-orient ourselves cognitively, re-define our purposes, and perhaps re-gain energy for that moral struggle to which only the Last Judgment (if any) will bring surcease. Still, neither the grave nor even Heaven is man's goal. In fact, he has no *single* goal, but as many goals as his own organic needs and drives, his socially conditioned interests and impulses, set up, tentatively, in the intricate network of shifting events in which his life is passed. Which does not mean, I take it, that man never is, but always to be blest, but that he should count his blessings one by one, rejoicing in the variety and accepting the contingency of a pluralistic world.

Henrik Ibsen once wrote in a letter to Georg Brandes: "I hold that man in the right who is most closely in league with the future." If this be a sound basis for critical judgment, then Dewey is certainly in the right. For his great abilities, nowhere better evidenced than in the present volume, have always been dedicated to the future—with which we may suppose he is in league! However, it is not a future determined antecedently by the "metaphysical" nature of reality, but an empirical future which we may help to create by *taking* thought, by learning *how* to do better the tasks which lie before us.

Stanford University

JOHN R. REID

LOGIC

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The Teachers Union in Action

TWO LEADING MEMBERS of the American Federation of Teachers, Doxey A. Wilkerson, professor of education at Howard University, national vice president of the A. F. of T., and president of Local 440, and Floyd W. Reeves, chairman of the President's Advisory Committee on Education and member of Local 259, have been appointed to the Advisory Committee for the Educational Works Progress Administration. Other members of the committee are: Ben G. Graham, Willard E. Givens, Sidney B. Hall, Edwin A. Lee, George D. Stoddard, Edna Noble White, and George F. Zook.

The national office reports that three new charters have been granted since the last issue of the *AMERICAN TEACHER*. They are as follows:

No. 602 Federal Teachers of Richland County, Ohio.

No. 603 West Fairfield Private School Teachers Federation of Greenwich, Conn.

No. 604 Will County Teachers Union of Will County, Ill.

★ ★ ★

PATERSON, N. J. (No. 482)—The two speakers at the December meeting of the Paterson Teachers Union were Janet Marshall of Ridgeview, N. J., who spoke on her trip with the National Religion and Labor Foundation which took her through the Tobacco Road country, the T. V. A., and the courtroom scenes of the N. L. R. B. trial in Harlan county, and Marie Duffy who spoke on the cooperative movement in Sweden where she spent the summer. The Paterson Teachers Union has started a campaign for full salary restorations for all classroom teachers.

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MICHIGAN STATE FEDERATION OF TEACHERS—A conference and luncheon meeting on "Federal Aid to Education" will be held at the Women's City Club in Detroit. Speakers for the luncheon will be Professor W. H. Maurer, University of Michigan; Paul T. David, secretary, Advisory Committee on Education; Earl R. Laing, chairman, N. E. A. Michigan Commission on Federal Aid; and Dr. Howard A. Dawson, director, Division of Rural Service, N. E. A. Sponsoring organizations of the luncheon meeting are:

American Association of University Women—Michigan Division; Detroit Federation of Teachers; Detroit Teachers Association; Michigan Education Association; Michigan Federation of Labor; Michigan Federation of Teachers; Michigan League of Women Voters; Michigan Library Association; Michigan State Federation of Teachers Clubs; National Association for Advancement of Colored People; N. E. A. Michigan Committee on Federal Aid; and Southeastern Michigan Associated Teachers Clubs.

BROOKSTON, MINN. (No. 508)—

The St. Louis County Teachers Federation has set up a complete plan for covering the rural teachers in the area. Each school is represented on a council by a vice president. Meetings are held in the court house in Virginia, Minn. Superintendent Lampe is expected to announce a new sick leave which was requested by the union last year. Members of the union felt that it will probably be retroactive.

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KENOSHA, WIS. (No. 557)—The board of education decided at its November meeting that Local 557 might use the schoolrooms for meetings and that the *Kenosha Teacher* might be distributed through the regular school channels.

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CHICAGO, ILL. (No. 1)—Delegates from fourteen locals in Illinois met at the Chicago Teachers Union office in November to discuss the principles on which a state tenure law for Illinois should be based. Speakers for the conference were Donald DuShane, chairman of the N. E. A. tenure committee; Edward DeBriar, Milwaukee Teachers Union; and Professor W. H. Maurer, University of Michigan. A committee was appointed to meet with the tenure committee of the Illinois Education Association with the hope that the two committees can agree upon a bill which can be jointly sponsored by both organizations.

The House of Representatives of the union adopted a resolution opposing a salary schedule based upon subjective rating of teachers' efficiency after Superintendent Johnson was quoted in the press as advocating the abolition of rank as a determinant in teachers' salaries and proposing that "experience, ability, and training" become the basis used. The House voted a special meeting to discuss all phases of salary schedule making. A check for fifty dollars was sent to the Tom Mooney Defense Fund at the suggestion of the executive board. The December issue of the *Chicago Union Teacher* includes articles by Dean E. O. Melby, Northwestern University; Howard Y. McClusky, University of Michigan; Charlotte Carr, Hull House; and Hortense Fox, Wright Junior College. The

theme of this issue is "Teacher Training." And just the last few sentences from John DeBoer's column in this issue:

"We need to build and strengthen our Union against the day when fascism, under whatever name it may appear, lays siege to our 'island of sanity.' The fortunes of democracy have fluctuated widely in the years between Gettysburg and Munich. It may well be that the outcome of the new Apomattox will depend upon how many friends of democracy carry union cards."

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SUPERIOR, WIS. (No. 202)—The Superior local sponsored a luncheon on October 7 at which Lewis Harris, superintendent of schools at Floodwood, Minn., spoke on "How Administrators Can Aid the Growth of the American Federation of Teachers." There was a capacity attendance of eighty members and friends, including Superintendent of Schools Davies and several local principals.

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WASHINGTON, D. C. (No. 553)—At the first public meeting of the Private School Teachers Union of Washington on November 8 Ernestine Friedman of Workers' Education, W. P. A., spoke on "The Place of Unionism in a Democracy." At the December 6 meeting Professor Lincoln Fairley, formerly of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, now a government research director, opened a study course on the American labor movement.

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DULUTH, MINN. (No. 381)—All Duluth teachers, members of locals of Superior, Cloquet, Floodwood, rural St. Louis County, and state administrators were invited by the Duluth Federation of Teachers to a dinner meeting on December 2. Speakers included Mercedes Nelson, Minneapolis, vice president of the national federation; Lewis Harris, Floodwood, of the Minnesota federation; Lucy Lawson of the University of Minnesota local; and P. F. DeMore of the Railroad Brotherhood Joint Legislative Board.

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CHICAGO, ILL. (No. 464)—Dorothy Van Alstyne was elected president of Local 464 at its first meeting. Other officers elected were C. Griffith, secretary-treasurer, and Maurine McCormick and Sarah Greenebaum, members of the executive committee. Jack Ellison, reporting on the Cedar Point convention, stressed the report given by Dr. Reeves, the work of the National Educational Policies Committee, and the necessity for labor unity in America.

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MISSOULA, MONT. (No. 497)—Professor J. P. Rowe of Montana University has been restored his annual contract. Two years ago, in spite of his thirty years of service at

the university, he was placed on a month-to-month basis at the time of the dismissal of Professor Keeney, head librarian. The A. F. of T. has circulated petitions nationally, urging the courts to restore both men to their former status. Last March, District Judge George W. Padbury, Jr., ordered the university to reinstate Professor Keeney. The administration has appealed this ruling to a higher court.

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EAST CHICAGO, IND. (No. 511)—Inquiries about the attitude of the board of education toward the American Federation of Teachers led the East Chicago Teachers Federation to make public a letter from Dr. A. A. Forszt, president of the East Chicago Board of Education, to Carl H. Mullen, president of the Indiana State Federation of Labor, saying:

"We recognize the right of our employees to join any organization they see fit and have attempted to treat all members of our faculty with equality regardless of whether they are members of the Teachers Federation, Local 511, the East Chicago Teachers Association, or non-members of either, and that will continue to be our policy."

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READING, PA. (No. 560)—During the recent campaign the teachers' union affiliated with Labor's Non-Partisan League, Harry Boyer, president, announced.

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PHILADELPHIA, PA. (No. 192)—The November issue of the *Philadelphia Teacher* contains a splendid article entitled, "Fascism at the School Door." The article deals with a number of anti-semitic pamphlets and notices which were distributed in school mail boxes by a Philadelphia teacher, Bessie R. Burchett. Faculty complaints about Dr. Burchett in 1936 caused her to be transferred from the South Philadelphia High School to the West Philadelphia High School. The article indicates that anti-semitism is "a reflection of world unrest with all its economic implications." In an effort to combat the evils of racial intolerance, the union appointed a committee to interview Dr. Nussbaum, acting school superintendent, and suggested to him that the approaching Thanksgiving and Christmas seasons provide the proper occasion for re-emphasizing the American tradition of racial and religious cooperation.

The recent victory of Local 192 in legally establishing the salary schedules in Philadel-

phia will probably be appealed by the board of education in a higher court. The University of North Carolina has published *Soujourner Truth—God's Faithful Pilgrim* by Arthur Huff Fauset, a member of the Philadelphia local.

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PORTLAND, ORE. (No. 111)—The Portland Teachers Union has made the problem of teachers' health its first major study for the school year. The teachers will consider the history of health insurance in the United States and abroad and the possibilities of setting up some form of a group health plan for Portland teachers. The study group will be open to all interested teachers, not only members of the union. Recommended in the union's publication, the *Progressive Teacher*, as worth reading were the following books: *The Coming Victory of Democracy*, *With Malice Toward Some*, and *The Folklore of Capitalism*.

President Kingsley Trenholme of Local 111 in his message on the opening of the new school year pointed out that "the Teachers' Union believes that an expanded social consciousness in the teacher is one of the keystones of successful presentation of the democratic ideal. To aid in achieving this viewpoint, we think that teachers should take a dynamic part in the life of the community, especially in the policy-determining organizations so important in our system of government."

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CINCINNATI, OHIO (No. 479)—A public relations committee consisting of the superintendent, the assistant superintendent, representatives of the Cincinnati Teachers Association, the Federated Council, the P.T.A., and representatives of the union has been set up by the Cincinnati federation. The committee will interpret the schools to the community in a "truthful, unbiased, humanized, dignified" fashion. A 22-point program of educational activities has been adopted.

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MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. (No. 496)—The following officers were elected at the annual meeting of the Minneapolis federation on November 4: G. A. Van Steenwyk, president; Robert Boehme, vice president; Mrs. Nellie Shaw, recording secretary; Mrs. Isabel Gearhart, corresponding secretary; and Mrs. Agnes Rich, treasurer.

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ATLANTA GA. (No. 89)—On December 2 Local 89 sponsored a meeting at which

Professor William H. Kilpatrick spoke on "Progressive Education and the World We Live In." Dr. Kilpatrick was brought to Atlanta for the three-day Southern Study Conference on Progressive Education, sponsored by the Progressive Education Association.

According to the recent report of the financial secretary, Local 89 has a membership of 1,092 in good standing, including 37 new members. This figure represents 100 per cent membership in 44 of the 53 schools. Included in the treasurer's report is an item of \$171.40 which was used to print copies of the handbook which already has been placed in the hands of every member.

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SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. (No. 61)—All meetings of Local 61 are carried in the *San Francisco Public Schools Bulletin* which reaches most of the teachers in the city.

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NEW YORK, N. Y. (No. 537)—The Columbia chapter of the New York College Teachers Union in a resolution unanimously adopted characterized the closing of New College as "a setback to progressive education" and expressed its "hope that favorable action will be taken for the continuance of New College as a separate unit of Teachers College." The resolution further stated the belief that there "has been a violation of the principle that all persons vitally affected by a decision should participate in its making."

The executive board of the New York union took the following actions at its November meeting: voted to send two delegates to the national conference of the American League for Peace and Democracy; voted to support the China Committee of the Columbia University Federation of Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; named Clifford McAvoy acting legislative representative; suggested to the Central Trades and Labor Council that Clifford McAvoy be considered for the vacancy on the city council due to the death of Mr. Vladeck; voted to cooperate with Local 5 on the Teachers Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; and designated a delegate to the conference on Vocational Education for Negroes.

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MILWAUKEE, WIS. (No. 252)—In order to meet the threatened curtailment of school revenue in the state by means of tax-limitation measures and sharp cuts in state aid, a conference was called for December 3 in Madison. In addition to the Wisconsin Federation of Teachers, the following organizations were invited to participate in the conference: State Federation of Labor, Farmers' Equity Union, the Wisconsin Milk Pool, the Railroad Brotherhoods, and the Northern Cooperative Association. A similar conference held in December, 1936, drew up a program of legislative action much of which was enacted into law.

The union committee on textbooks, Flora Menzel, Harold V. Peterson, Elmer H. Ellis, and James L. Fitzpatrick, took part in the hearing on textbook changes before the Committee on Instruction of the Milwaukee schools. Local 252 has submitted a plan to

BUFFALO, N. Y. (No. 39)—At the annual dinner of the Buffalo Teachers Union Father Boland, chairman of the State Labor Relations Board, declared that if he were a school teacher, he would be a member of the teachers' union. "If I were a school teacher," he stated, "I would favor a teachers' union in order to improve teaching and working conditions. If I were a schoolmaster, as most of you are, I would be tremendously interested in social justice for myself, my fellow teachers, my fellow workers, and my fellow Americans."

Father Boland urged that courses in American labor history, the theory and practice of trade unionism, labor ethics, and labor relations be added to the curriculum in the elementary as well as high schools. "I would want to belong to a teachers' union," he affirmed, "because the United States, whose welfare we pledge to advance, is in dire need of education touching on the subject of labor and labor unionism. American labor history is a most inspiring portion of our American history."

the school board on methods of hiring new teachers which covers examination and classification of applicants for full-time work and a consideration of young teachers on substitute pay. The union plan calls for the training of young teachers by the principals and teachers with whom the young substitutes come in contact and for assignment in districts where they may teach the subjects for which they have been trained.

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NEW YORK, N. Y. (No. 5)—One of the major activities of the New York Teachers Union this year will be the alleviation of vocational-school conditions in New York City. More than 150 vocational teachers have asked the board of education to reduce the hours of all teachers in the vocational schools to the hours of academic school level. President Charles Hendley, Bella Dodd, Rebecca Schapiro, Irving Adler, and Louis Solomon spoke vigorously against the reactionary trend which would preserve artificial distinctions between vocational and academic schools, and would make the former trade schools of the narrowest type.

A good suggestion for other union journals is the humor column "Pedagog Agog" which is a regular monthly feature of the *New York Teacher*.

Dr. Alberto C. Bonaschi, member of the board of education of New York City, has introduced a resolution to the law committee of the board which would give teachers the right to join any organization they choose without fear of discrimination and to hold meetings in the school classrooms. Said Dr. Bonaschi:

"Public agencies should be in the forefront in employe relationships and I should think that the board of education would be the first to condemn any official who openly and brazenly states that he intends to discriminate against any group of teachers exercising the American right of organization, whether on a labor-union or professional basis."

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FLINT, MICH. (No. 435)—The Flint Federation of Teachers is attempting to increase its membership by a series of informal meetings to which prospective members are invited. A discussion of the pre-election situation in Michigan was led by Arthur Elder, national vice president, at the first meeting while President Matske, Ann Arbor, spoke on the tenure victory in his city.

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CAMBRIDGE, MASS. (No. 431)—The Cambridge Union of University Teachers has held two general membership meetings during the present semester. Max Lerner, professor of political science at Williams College and former editor of the *Nation*, addressed the meeting on November 21 on "Crisis Democracy." Sixty new members have been added to the local since the first of the semester as the result of a membership drive under the direction of John Rackliffe. The local sponsored a mass meeting of students and faculty at which the movement was initiated which resulted in the decision of Har-

WASHINGTON STATE FEDERATION OF TEACHERS—Professor Charles Strother, University of Washington, was elected president of the state federation at its meeting in Bremerton, Wash., October 22. Other officers elected were Mr. Myrman, president of the Tacoma Public School Local, vice president; Hildur Erickson, Seattle Public Schools, secretary; and Mr. Berst, Seattle W. P. A. teachers, treasurer. Professor Strother replaces Lila Hunter, national vice president of the A. F. of T.

Eighty-one delegates representing 11 locals of the American Federation of Teachers attended the third annual state convention. Among the speakers were: James A. Taylor, president, Washington State Federation of Labor, who spoke on Initiative 130, as a threat to organized labor; Superintendent Thomas, Bothell, Wash., spoke on financial conditions of the schools and urged support of the constitutional amendment which would permit the legislature to pass a graduated income tax. Mabel Shea was appointed as organizer for Washington by Vice President Hunter. The state federation has drawn up the necessary features of a good tenure bill and hopes to cooperate with the Washington Educational Association in securing a state tenure law.

vard University to receive twenty German refugee students. A union committee on university policy in promotions, appointments, and tenure regulations headed by Rupert Emerson is drafting a tentative set of principles and proposals relating to these questions. The local has decided to issue a regular monthly bulletin.

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NEW YORK, N. Y. (No. 453)—The campaign by the W. P. A. Teachers Union to secure credit for W. P. A. experience from the New York Board of Education and the Civil Service Commission for all workers on educational projects has been received favorably by James Marshall, president of the board of education, Colonel Brehon B. Somerville, head of W. P. A. in New York City, and John F. Conroy, chief subject supervisor of the Adult Education Project. School principals are being canvassed for statements on the campaign.

More than 700 educational workers were saved from scheduled dismissal when pressure by Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia, congressmen, and W. P. A. organizations including Local 453 caused Administrator Hopkins to rescind his order to Colonel Somerville. Leaders in the New York local report that weekly wage increases ranging from 66 cents to \$2.04 were granted recently to many educational workers as the result of the A. F. of T.'s campaign.

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BLOOMINGTON, ILL. (No. 276)—Local rules, recently adopted, give tenure protection to Bloomington teachers. The Bloomington Federation of Teachers worked actively in a successful effort to elect a school board friendly to labor and genuinely interested in the welfare of the schools and their teachers. The school board then adopted a set of rules to give the Bloomington teachers tenure in their positions.

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BELLEVILLE, ILL. (No. 434)—The Belleville local of the American Federation of Teachers recently secured passage of board rules establishing a single salary schedule based upon training and experience. A tenure provision was also written into the rules.

Under the single salary schedule, salaries range from \$1,400 for a teacher with a bachelor's degree and two years' teaching experience to \$2,825 for teachers with thirty years'

experience and a master's degree plus fifteen hours of graduate study.

The tenure provision declares that, after passing a probationary period, no teacher shall be permanently dismissed until a period of arbitration of thirty days has passed, during which period the teacher must be notified of the reasons for dismissal and shall be given a hearing before a committee of the board of education, the principal, and a committee elected by the teachers.

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SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH (No. 352)—The Salt Lake Federation of Teachers contributed an article to the *Salt Lake Tribune*, Sunday, October 30, on the union's attitude toward important constitutional amendments on uniform school funds which were considered by the voters of the state on November 8. Joseph A. Curtis, secretary of the local, explained in the article that "in the last analysis the amendments will permit the legislature, without injustice, to do an adequate job of financing public education in Utah, and that is why they are fully in accordance with the principles of the American Federation of Teachers, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor."

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TURTLE CREEK, PA. (No. 493)—The East Boroughs Federation of Teachers is supporting a campaign for increased state aid for schools because "the State does not guarantee an adequate minimum program of education. The School Code contains no minimum standard of educational need. Three-fourths of the states have such programs." A ten days' sick leave with full pay has been granted to the teachers of North Braddock by the board of education. The local points out that this was one of the recommendations made by the union last year and urges the adoption of the full union program.

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CHEYENNE, WYO. (No. 366)—The Cheyenne Federation of Teachers is cooperating with the Wyoming Educational Association on a proposed Teacher Retirement Law which will be presented to the state legislature in January. The local is also planning a study of the salary schedule of the Cheyenne school system, and its recommendations will be submitted to the board of education.

On the Labor Front

Steinbeck Sponsors Conference

John Steinbeck, noted author of *Of Mice and Men*, *In Dubious Battle*, and other novels, is chairman of a Committee to Aid Agricultural Organization formed in Sacramento, Calif., as an outgrowth of a strike by 6,000 cotton pickers.

* * *

The American Federation of Labor joined forces last month with the labor movement of Oregon in a court battle against the vicious anti-labor law voted at the November elections.

Joseph A. Padway, A. F. of L. general counsel, was assigned by President William Green to assist the Oregon Federation of Labor in a legal attack on the constitutionality of the measure. Padway said the initial step would be to ask a declaratory judgment from the Oregon Supreme Court, setting aside the law as a violation of the state and national constitutions and in conflict with the National Labor Relations Act and the Norris-LaGuardia anti-injunction statute.

Labor is determined to leave nothing undone to invalidate the law, Padway said, because large industrial and farm interests who indorsed the measure will attempt to enact similar legislation in other states. Similar laws were defeated at the November polls by the voters in California and Washington.

* * *

Organized labor has taken on new life in Hawaii within the last few years, *The Voice of Labor*, the island's only labor newspaper, comments in an anniversary edition published last month.

In its 12-page edition, the publication lists 7,625 members in recognized unions, with the C.I.O. leading with 4,195; the A. F. of L., 1,830, and the independent union of the Federation of Federal Workers, with 1,600.

Hawaii's oldest trade union, according to the labor paper, is the Honolulu Typographical Union, which was chartered more than a half century ago, when the territory was a monarchy, known as the Sandwich Islands.

* * *

Steel Protests Wage Levels

Two of America's large steel corporations, Bethlehem and Republic Steel, are attacking the Walsh-Healey Act, which fixes minimum wages for firms seeking government contracts of more than \$10,000. Under the provisions of the act, the steel companies must pay a minimum hourly wage of 62½ cents in the North and 45 cents in the South. In many of the steel plants, wages are below this minimum level.

Union officials said the protest by the steel corporations is of great significance to

trade unions, since the protest might spread to other industries if the test case is successful.

In the face of this fight, union officials pointed to the large salaries paid executives of the two corporations. Sixteen officers and directors of Bethlehem Steel received salaries for 1937 totalling \$1,600,000, including Eugene G. Grace, \$394,500; Charles M. Schwab, \$190,000, and three other executives who received more than \$150,000 each.

Republic Steel paid its seventeen directors and officers more than \$500,000, with \$175,000 going to T. M. Girdler, leader of anti-unionism in the steel industry.



The new Wages and Hours Law does not fully eliminate the practices of child labor, the National Child Labor Committee has warned. A vast amount, perhaps the largest percentage, of child labor is in intra-state occupations, which are not covered by the new regulation, the committee reported. Only those industries which ship goods across state lines come under the child-labor ban of the act.

In Washington Administrator Elmer F. Andrews, of the Wages and Hours Law, warned that employees who consent to evasion of the act are subject to its penalties.

Isador Lubin, commissioner of the bureau of labor statistics, made public a report showing that about 35,000, or about one-tenth of the workers of cotton mills of the United States received wage increases as a result of the 25-cent-an-hour minimum fixed by the Wages and Hours Law. Almost all of the workers benefited were in mills in the southern states.

* * *

Legislation designed to curb the activities of agencies which provide large corporations with strikebreakers and labor spies is being considered by the LaFollette Senate Civil Liberties Committee for introduction at the next session of Congress.

The proposed measures now being devised grew out of the committee's long investigation of methods used to break strikes and prevent labor organization. A large part of the proposed laws is directed at detective

agencies, which would be required to register with a federal bureau or the department of justice. These agencies would be prohibited from interference with collective bargaining, picketing, or other union activities.

Moreover, employers would be denied the use of machine guns, gas bombs, and other war weapons during strike situations, while so-called citizens' committees, law and order groups, and other vigilante organizations would be required to disclose the source of their funds, under the proposed legislation.

* * *

Governor Elmer A. Benson, Farmer-Laborite of Minnesota who was defeated for reelection last month, has ruled that the William J. Burns detective agency can no longer operate in the state.

The liberal governor said he based his actions on the disclosures before the LaFollette Senate Civil Liberties Committee. In refusing to renew the agency's license, Governor Benson pointed out that a large part of the organization's business consisted of industrial espionage, and that Minnesota was one field of operation.

He also referred to a letter sent from the firm's branch manager in 1934 to the national office in New York, complaining of the liberal state administration's policies, yet boasting that there were more Burns operatives in Minnesota than representatives of any other agency.

* * *

D. C. Workers Start School

More than 400 students, representing practically every government agency and business activity, are enrolled in the third term of the Federal Workers' School in Washington, D. C.

Sponsored by the United Federal Workers of America, the school offers classes ranging from courses in history of trade unionism to ballroom dancing. Twenty-seven courses are offered.

On the faculty are such notables as Floyd Dell, novelist; Walter Polakov, noted economist and director of the engineering department of the United Mine Workers of America; and Henry M. Hunt, former mayor of Cincinnati and one-time general counsel for the P.W.A.

The forums are under the direction of Thomas Blaisdell, director of the monopoly study of the Securities and Exchange Commission.

* * *

The old spirit of bitterness by British employers is giving way to better mutual understanding, Professor J. Henry Richardson of Leeds University reports in a new revised edition of his work, *Industrial Relations in Great Britain*.

"Above all," he writes, "there is growing recognition of the common interests of em-

ployers and workers in the prosperity of British industry, especially in view of the intensity of post-war international competition. It is upon these common interests both within the undertakings and in the wider field of collective relations that the foundations of industrial peace must be built."

Wallace Speaks to Labor

Farmers and organized labor must band together if progressive gains in this country are to be maintained, Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace told delegates to the fifth annual National Conference on Labor Legislation in Washington last month.

"If we are to continue along moderate and progressive lines," he said, "and if we are to prevent development of a special brand of fascism here, farmers and city workers must learn to work together with mutual confidence and respect."

"City employment depends in some part on the ability of farmers to buy. Prices of farm products depend in part upon the ability of city workers to buy. This fundamental interdependence is evidenced in many ways. The cash income of farmers and the total of factory payrolls rise and fall together, almost dollar for dollar."

Not only are farmers dependent on city workers for markets for their products, Secretary Wallace pointed out, but they also are dependent on industry for careers for their children. Today there is a constant flow of farm boys and girls into industrial jobs, since farmers raise more children than can find places in agriculture, he said.

Meanwhile, the National Farmers Union, representing nearly 125,000 farmers in 36 states, reiterated its support of organized labor and the principle of collective bargaining. Meeting in Madison, Wis., at its thirty-fourth annual convention, the group offered full cooperation with the labor movement in the fight for progressive measures.

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company lost another round in its fight against unionization of its agents in New York City when the appellate division upheld unanimously the State Labor Relations Act and orders of the State Labor Relations Board.

The insurance company had challenged the constitutionality of the act when the Labor Board ordered it to bargain with the Industrial Insurance Agents Union, C.I.O. State Supreme Court Justice Aaron Steuer denied the company's motion to vacate the order, and granted the board's counter-motion to enforce the order.

The company then appealed to the appellate division, which upheld Justice Steuer on all points. As a result of the decision the union is seeking an election among 1,000 agents of the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company. Meanwhile a public campaign against the Metropolitan for its anti-union policies was undertaken by the union with the inauguration of roving pickets.

Industrial production in the United States showed the greatest decline since 1929, ac-

cording to a study of twenty nations by the International Labor Office in Geneva.

Of eight nations on the list with reduced production percentages, the U. S. was the highest with 33.6 per cent, the report finds. Twelve other countries showed production increase over the 1929 level, with Latvia showing the greatest increase, 82.4 per cent.

Injunction or no injunction, Mayor Frank "I Am the Law" Hague still does not permit pickets to carry signs within his open-shop kingdom in Jersey City.

Despite Federal Judge William Clark's ruling that pickets must not be molested, police officers directed by Hague tore signs from the backs of A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unionists who were jointly picketing a tailor shop on Journal Square in the heart of Jersey City.

Captain Peter Quail ripped the signs from two pickets, one representing the Journeymen Tailors' Union of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (C.I.O.) and the other a member of the Retail Clothing Salesmen's Union, affiliated with the Retail Clerks' International Protective Association (A. F. of L.). Both unions had struck the shop a few hours earlier, demanding recognition and improved conditions.

Police Chief Harry M. Walsh said that picket signs had been forbidden in Jersey City for 25 years and no change was contemplated. The pickets kept on marching without signs.

Green Urges Nazi Boycott

A nation-wide boycott of the goods and services of Germany was urged by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, in a nation-wide radio hookup.

Bitterly denouncing Hitler's racial policies, President Green advised continuance of such a boycott until persecution of Jews in Germany is terminated. The boycott, President Green said, is backed by the five million members of the A. F. of L.

In New York City, members of District Council 9 of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers are carrying out a program to help raise \$100,000 for Nazi refugees. Under the plan, members of the union are permitted to work an extra day each week, with the extra day's earnings being turned over to the special refugee fund, union officials expect to raise \$25,000 a week under this plan.



New York A. F. of L. and C.I.O. organizations have joined forces in opposing the granting of incorporation papers to the Liberty Legion of America, Inc., which is chartered in Michigan.

Charging that the Liberty Legion is a company-dominated union of the Ford Motor Company, the unions banded together in

the fight include the American Federation of Labor, the Albany Central Federation, the New York State Industrial Union Council, and the United Automobile Workers of America.

In a hearing before the state board of standards and appeals, Thurlow Gray, who identified himself as founder and secretary of the legion, testified the organization was started as a group of former service men with a membership of 450 and had grown to a membership of 85,000 with 34 charters. Ninety per cent of this number, he admitted, were employees of the Ford Motor Company, including all of the officers except himself, a former employee.

Several former employees of the Ford company in Detroit testified under oath that they were discharged for refusal to join the legion.

"No Picket Lines," Says Heil

The threat to end picket lines in Wisconsin made by Julius P. Heil, republican governor-elect, is being discussed by state labor leaders as an open attack on organized labor. The statement was made to newspapermen in New York.

"We are going to have no strikes and no picket lines in Wisconsin," he declared. "As governor I am going out on the firing line and run those racketeers out of Wisconsin, courteously, if I can."

Picketing by strikers in a demand for a closed shop is illegal, Judge J. D. Murphy of Oakland, Calif., ruled recently in issuing an injunction to the Guy's Drug Stores.

Judge Murphy held that closed-shop or union-shop agreements "interfere with employees' freedom in the selection of bargain agencies and require employers' interference with employees' selection of agencies."

Striking pharmacists, then, ousted from their jobs, defied the ruling by continuing to picket in a demand for reinstatement in their jobs. Members of the Pharmacists' Union are planning an appeal of the decision to a higher court, while other local firms are taking advantage of the ruling.

Women are playing an increasing role in the labor movement in America, according to a report last month by the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor.

In the rubber industry, for example, the Bureau's magazine, *The Woman Worker*, reports women make up nearly one-fourth of all the workers. Through labor organization women rubber workers have increased hourly wages from a low of 26 cents to as much as one dollar. Also, the magazine notes, the practice of replacing men with women at lower rates of pay has been eliminated in well-organized plants.

In an important labor election, members of Local 6 of New York, International Typographical Union, have rejected a proposal for the special per capita tax for the American Federation of Labor for its organizational drive.

The New York local, the largest I. T. U.

unit, turned down the Chicago local's request for a national referendum on the question, thus reaffirming a stand taken several months ago. I.T.U. delegates to the A. F. of L. convention in October were refused seats, until President Claude M. Baker promised that his union would reconsider the per capita tax.

Columbia Law Review Studies N. L. R. B. Record

Columbia University's *Columbia Law Review* reports that in spite of the fact that the C. I. O. has been victorious in 76.9 per cent of its contests with the A. F. of L. before the National Labor Relations Board the N. L. R. B. has favored American Federation of Labor unions. The *Review* claims that the board has been willing to give preference to craft unions over industrial organization whenever the majority of any group of craftsmen desire it and has refused to exclude from the ballot A. F. of L. unions that have been aided by employers.

The *Columbia Law Review* points out that "the amendments to the National Labor Relations Act proposed by the counsel for the A. F. of L. . . . would prove extremely advantageous to recalcitrant employers and of doubtful value to the A. F. of L." Important decisions handed down recently by the N. L. R. B. include: the Montgomery Ward Co. (St. Paul) has been ordered to reinstate three discharged employees and to pay them back pay for all time lost; four newspapermen who have been re-employed by the *Hollywood Citizen-News* gained a victory in their suit for back pay; after two years' waiting, Jerry C. S. Rossi, who was discharged by DeWay Hats, Beacon, N. Y., for attempting to organize a union, won his job back and two years' back pay; the Murray Hat Co. of De Kalb, Ill., has been ordered to reinstate six workers with back pay; 5,000 employees of Republic Steel who lost their jobs in May, 1937, have won a reinstatement order which states that the steel company "chose the way of strife" in the strikes and warfare; and, strangely enough, the Red River Lumber Company, involved in an A. F. of L.-C. I. O. controversy, praised the impartiality of the board in handling the case.

Election results issued by the N. L. R. B. on November 18 showed that organized labor had won twenty-one elections and lost ten. Of this number the C. I. O. won fifteen, the A. F. of L. six; in six elections where the workers had to choose between the two groups the C. I. O. won four, the A. F. of L. two. In one case an independent employees group won.

* * *

Judge Charles N. Feidelson, regional director for the National Labor Relations Board, in Atlanta, Ga., has filed a Labor Board complaint against the Republic Steel Corporation, which operates a number of plants throughout the South.

The board has already found the Girdler firm guilty of violating the Wagner Act in its northern plants, and has ordered the company to re-hire several thousand workers fired for union activity.

* * *

According to Washington Merry-Go-Round, syndicated column about events in the National Capital, Senator Edward Burke was quoted as saying:

"I still think there ought to be some revision of the Wagner Act, but I now feel that whatever changes are proposed should come from the sponsor of the measure, Senator Wagner. I don't contemplate offering any amendments."

Senator Wagner has given no indication that he favors amendments to the law.

* * *

Summarizing its work since it started in the fall of 1935, the National Labor Relations Board reports it has handled 16 770 cases, involving 3 981 052 workers. On September 1 all but 3,820 had been disposed of, the board explained.

A highlight of the report was that less than 5 per cent of the cases actually reached the point of trial examiners' recommendations, or board orders. All others were ended by agreement, withdrawal of charges, dismissals of cases, or in other ways.

The *Christian Front*, Catholic labor publication, declared editorially in a recent issue:

"The *Christian Front* indorses the N. L. R. A. and the National Labor Relations Board which is applying the law. The *Christian Front* urges that there be no tinkering with the N. L. R. A. and the N. L. R. B. Written to safeguard the rights of the rank and file of the American working classes, this Wagner labor relations act is a great step toward the achievement of practical social justice."

The editorial terms the Wagner act a "direct answer to the call of Pope Pius XI for labor legislation."

* * *

President William Green will head labor's drive in the 1938-39 war on infantile paralysis which will be conducted as a part of the National Committee for the Celebration of the President's Birthday. Labor's contribution will be presented in person to President Roosevelt by President Green and a representative labor committee. Last year more than \$50,000 was contributed to the national fund and this year's goal is not less than \$100,000. The name under consideration for the labor offering is the "silver salute" which would mean nickles, dimes, quarters, and dollars for the National Foundation in its war against infantile paralysis.

* * *

The Supreme Court will decide whether an employee who participates in a sitdown strike may be discharged by his employer when it reviews the *Fansteel* case. The N. L. R. B. brought the case into court, contesting a two-to-one decision by the Seventh Circuit Court setting aside an order by the board for reinstatement of the sitdown strikers on the ground that the illegal labor practices of the company precipitated the strike.

In order that the AMERICAN TEACHER may serve as a medium for the discussion of the educational problems of today, the contributors are not necessarily expressing the policies of the American Federation of Teachers.

The AMERICAN TEACHER

Official Organ of

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

506 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois

Organized April 15, 1916

Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor

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INSIDE THE COVER

(Continued from page 2)

A new organization, "Films for Democracy," has been formed with Dean Ned Dearborn, Division of General Education, New York University, as the head and the following among the sponsors: United States Senator Arthur Capper, Rexford G. Tugwell, Thomas Mann, Dr. Mary E. Woolley, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Abraham Flexner, Dr. A. A. Brill, Heywood Broun, Irene Lewisohn, Robert K. Straus, Philip Merivale, Sherwood Anderson, Herman Shumlin, Clyde R. Miller, Walter Prichard Eaton, Marc Connelly, Rex Ingram, George Selde, and Will Rogers, Jr.

The prospectus of the organization indicates that one of the reasons for forming the group is that "contemporary social problems, if treated to suggest a practical solution, are taboo in Hollywood scripts. As historical dramas grow grander, the films' retreat from present-day reality becomes a rout. Yet those who know this country's moral climate are firmly convinced that in cities and small towns all over these United States there are significant masses of habitual movie-goers who will, because of the changing spirit of the times, welcome new films which interpret current reality and point out constructive solutions."

And while I'm on the subject of movies, in the recent election the Motion Picture Democratic Committee of California, made up of such stars as Melvyn Douglas, Franchot Tone, Gale Sondergaard, Ralph Morgan (Screen Actors' Guild prexy), James, Lucille, and Russell Gleason, and many others, took to the air and the road for Olson, Downey, and Patterson, and AGAINST the vicious anti-labor proposition number one which was defeated.

G. T. G.

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Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama area of the American Federation of Teachers.

ELBERT D. THOMAS is senator from Utah and chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

Chairman Dies vs. Founding Fathers was written by a teacher who feels that it would be unwise for him to sign the article, American education being what it is. He is a member of the American Federation of Teachers.

Books Received

ALMANAC FOR NEW YORKERS, by FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT. New York: Modern Age Books. 154 pages. \$0.50.

BRICKS WITHOUT MORTAR: The Story of International Cooperation, by VARIAN FRY. New York: Foreign Policy Association. 96 pages. \$0.25.

CENTERVILLE: Book Three, Social Studies, by PAUL R. HANNA, GENEVIEVE ANDERSON, and WILLIAM S. GRAY. Chicago: Scott, Foresman. 288 pages. \$0.92.

GROUP LEADER'S GUIDE TO PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS, by VIOLET EDWARDS. New York: Institute for Propaganda Analysis. 240 pages. \$2.00.

HORACE MANN AT ANTIOCH, by JOY ELMER MORGAN. Washington: Horace Mann Centennial Fund, National Education Association. 608 pages. \$2.00.

LORDS OF THE PRESS, by GEORGE SELDES. New York: Julian Messner. 408 pages. \$3.00.

MC GILLIVRAY OF THE CREEKS, by JOHN WALTON CAUGHEY. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 386 pages. \$3.50.

MADE IN U.S.A., by BOAKE CARTER. New York: Dodge. 244 pages. \$1.75.

NEXT STEPS FORWARD: Taxation, Big Business, Government Debt, Old-Age Security, by DONALD SLESINGER. Washington: National Home Library Foundation. 144 pages. \$0.25.

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND, by HAROLD J. LASKI. New York: Viking Press. 384 pages. \$3.50.

PUPIL-TEACHER LEARNING: A Study, directed by L. THOMAS HOPKINS. Wilmington: Delaware Citizens Association. 136 pages. \$3.00.

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS: The Story of American Democracy, by HERBERT AGAR. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 386 pages. \$3.00.

SUPERVISION IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, by SAMUEL SMITH and ROBERT K. SPEER. New York: Cordon. 460 pages. \$2.90.

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

COLLEGE STUDENT MORTALITY, by JOHN H. MCNEELY. Washington: United States Department of the Interior and Office of Education. 112 pages. \$0.15.

FEDERAL AID FOR EDUCATION: 1935-36 and 1936-37, by TIMON COVERT. Washington: United States Department of the Interior and Office of Education. 24 pages. \$0.10.

THE NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION, by PALMER O. JOHNSON and OSWALD L. HARVEY with an introduction by DOAK S. CAMPBELL. Washington: Advisory Committee on Education. 122 pages. \$0.15.

SCHOOL USE OF VISUAL AIDS, by CLINE M. KOON. Washington: United States Department of the Interior and Office of Education. 68 pages. \$0.10.

TEACHING ADULTS BY DISCUSSION, by THOMAS FANSLER. New York: New York University Service Bureau for Adult Education. 40 pages. \$0.35.

WAGE-HOUR HANDBOOK. Washington: Capitol Daily. 76 pages. \$2.00.

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